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CARTHAGE OF THE PHŒNICIANS

IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN EXCAVATION

[*See p.* 32.

SEVEN-BRANCHED LAMP (*Douïmes*)

[*See p.* 32.

CARTHAGINIAN LAMPS, TWO OF PUNIC FORM AND ONE GREEK

CALIFORNIA

CARTHAGE OF THE PHŒNICIANS

IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN EXCAVATION

BY

MABEL MOORE

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

In compiling this small book, the object of the writer has been to gather together in an epitomized form, for English readers, all that is at present known, and all that has been recently discovered, concerning the earliest inhabitants of Carthage.

Modern curiosity seems to be stimulated on their behalf by the fact that they are, or have been up to the present, a lost and forgotten people, with whose sea-faring, commercial and colonizing characteristics we are acquainted only by hearsay —Roman hearsay—having the disadvantages of bias, prejudice and the contempt which goes with conquest.

Modern excavation in the Punic Tombs of Carthage has given this people an opportunity of at last speaking for themselves, and it is to this voice from the grave that we have now to hearken, straining our ears with patient sympathy, as the pick-axes of the monks of Carthage proceed to liberate the stifled spirit of the past.

This book could not have been written but for the generous assistance of the Archpriest of the Cathedral of St. Louis of Carthage, the Reverend A. L. Delattre, who is the moving spirit of the

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excavations, and whose valuable records, familiar to the whole archæological world, have been placed at the writer's disposition.

It is hoped that this little account in English, of the work accomplished by the Reverend Father and his confrères, may not only prove of use to those in England who are interested in the excavation of ancient cities, but also serve perhaps as a *vade mecum* for those travellers who share the wisdom of the swallows and leave our raw winter for the genial realms of North Africa.

The grateful acknowledgments of the writer are also due to Dr. Wallis Budge, Keeper of the Oriental Antiquities in the British Museum; to the late Dr. A. S. Murray, and to Cecil Smith, Esq., Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities, for invaluable help and direction, most generously given.

M. M.

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PART I

THE NECROPOLIS OF DOUÏMES

CHAPTER I

CATO, in pronouncing the dread fiat, could scarcely have contemplated in anticipation a more complete fulfilment of his words "*Delenda est Carthago*" than that which actually took place.

The Roman battle-axe was laid to the fair and flourishing tree and the mingled fires of Roman envy and material flame combined to wipe out Carthage from the face of the earth.

But the strong tree laid low, was not uprooted, and subsequent stems of Roman, Christian and Byzantine growth shot up once more from the hidden roots, only to succumb in their turn to Vandal and Saracen destruction, followed by complete and utter oblivion.

Only a hundred years ago the true site of Carthage was unknown, and Chateaubriand appears to have been the first to give to the world the

results of certain investigations attempted by one Major Humbert, a Dutchman, which enabled him to indicate the spot occupied by the Acropolis or Byrsa and the combined ports of the fleet and commerce of Carthage.

But it was not until a considerably later period that it became possible even so much as to suggest a name for the fragmentary ruins fast disappearing stone by stone from this august though well-nigh naked site.

As one watches the Arab following his plough over the ashy soil, turning up fragments of the richest stones the earth can produce, or reaping his corn from fields where once stood marble palaces and porphyry pillars ; and when one recollects his insatiable greed for building stone of any description, especially in this land which of itself yields only the non-enduring tufa ; and lastly, when one recalls the fact that the Arab looks upon every ruined city as a useful and ready-worked quarry, then the only surprise one may indulge in is, that there remains so much still to be told of Carthage in the light of modern excavation. For curiously, in spite of Cato, and subsequent to the writings of Mons. Perrot,[1] it is Punic Carthage which to-day has yielded the richest fund of interest.

The roots of the old tree have lain covered by generations upon generations of forgetfulness, and, consequently, are preserved until this present most fitting age in which has been witnessed a wondrous resurrection of the lost cities of the ancient world,

[1] *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité.*

and in which the wise men of the earth go down into the valleys and seem to make the dry bones live.

It was due to the efforts of the late gifted Cardinal Lavigerie that the systematic excavation of Carthage was taken in hand upwards of twenty years ago, and continued with so much zeal and success by the White Fathers of Carthage under the able guidance of their learned Chaplain, the Reverend Père Delattre.

Those sites which have yielded all that is of the greatest interest, as throwing light upon the Punic origins of Carthage, are the three most ancient necropoleis, known to-day only by their modern appellations of Douïmes, St. Louis, and Bord-el-Djedid.

In excavating the soil of Douïmes to find those remains of Punic sepulture which are conclusively proved to be the oldest of the three groups, the objects and remains of all ages yielded themselves in such perfect successive order as to resemble the arrangement of geological strata. Monuments there were of the lower Carthaginian, Roman and Byzantine periods, Pagan and Christian remains, souvenirs of the Crusade of St. Louis, as well as subsequent Arab art and craft. Above all, it is Christian Carthage which has disappeared, while the oldest epoch of all can show the best preservation of its sepulchral remains in these cities of the dead.

But before detailing the discoveries, it may perhaps be well to sum up first as much as can be gathered concerning this lost and little-known

people, their characteristics, their customs, and, above all, their religion, in order to approach with some degree of comprehension the objects yielded by excavation, and to interpret as far as possible the story which they help to tell.

Mesopotamia, the traditional site of the Garden of Eden, would seem to show a strong claim to be regarded as the birthplace of that Semitic race which survives in the present form of Jew, Turk and Arab, but which anciently appeared on earth under the diverse types of Assyrian, Jew, Canaanite or Phœnician, and possibly also Etruscan. And it is to an Assyrian origin that we are able to trace back so frequently the art and symbolism of much that comes to light in the course of excavating the Punic tombs of Carthage.

Of the Carthaginian character this much may be safely concluded: that in his complete mastery of the sea he was the antithesis of his cousin the Jew, who from his iron-bound coast might well look forward to the promise of a New Jerusalem where "there shall be no more sea"; though, by adopting opposite means of transit, they shared the faculty for penetrating into far countries and colonizing with persistence.

That his tastes were commercial and that, in accordance with the Semitic character, his energies instinctively turned to money-making and the advancement of his worldly interests, would seem obvious, and prosperity was no doubt in ancient Carthage, as in modern Jewry, the stamp and seal of aristocracy.

That while indulging in every kind of luxury

and every form of lavish display, he was loath to spend money save on himself, would seem to be suggested by the entire absence of gold and almost entire absence of silver coins among the funeral offerings accompanying the dead, and the frequent presence among the bronze coins of money no longer in currency at the time when the corpse was buried. It is however possible that the persistent raid upon the tombs, made through all ages by the Arabs, may account for the first-mentioned fact, though it seems difficult to believe that every tomb opened now for the first time by the White Fathers has been previously visited by these rapacious Arab thieves.

As to his military skill and prowess the name of Hannibal alone would be sufficient answer to any question on that point. But it was from motives of patriotism and self-preservation that the Carthaginian fought. His natural instincts were not warlike, and fighting for its own sake never appealed to him. He was probably more reasoning than emotional, and commerce rather than fighting appealed to his reason. Brave no doubt he was, for though pushing his successes in times of prosperity, there is ample proof that he endured toughly his hardships in times of disaster. Most probably too he was cruel, with the sullen revengeful savagery of the true Oriental, and certainly the type of countenance depicted on some of the terra cottas would lead one to conclude him to have been an undesirable enemy.

But with regard to *Punica fides* it may be well to remember that hitherto we have been forced to

regard the Carthaginian, for the most part, through the medium of Roman prejudice, and that it is wise to be guarded as to the extent of our acceptance of such bitter and unqualified criticism.

Of his architectural powers we have no means, unfortunately, of judging. Whether in the labyrinthan streets of Tunis, the contemporary city of Carthage, remains are still embedded among its masonry of Punic structures, is a question interesting to ask but hard to answer. We know the major part of all the artistic and manufactured articles found in the tombs are of imported foreign workmanship as well as design. The heavy massive tombs alone remain in Carthage as types of his building powers.

When the Romans destroyed the whole of the Carthaginian literature save one agricultural treatise, it was their own utilitarian taste which led them to choose this particular work, but it would be unwise and undiscerning to conclude therefore that all Punic literature was of a like utilitarian character —for though we know they raised the science of agriculture to an astonishing degree of skill, we also remember that the Semitic soul has evolved such diverse and lasting monuments of literature as the Psalms of David and the Arabian Nights.

Of their habits in food and dress we have certain definite though not extensive information. On one occasion an embassy was sent to Carthage by Darius, praying them not to eat the flesh of dogs, and Plautus makes passing mention of their pulse-eating propensity and their "long trailing foreign dresses"; while recent research confirms the fact

dwelt upon by Pliny as to the simplicity of the Carthaginian costume, which consisted only of a tunic without either mantle or girdle. This to Roman eyes looked like nothing more than a bathing costume: "*Numnam it a balneis?*"

Seeing the slaves who followed Hanno wearing rings in their ears, Milphio adds, "*Atque ut opinor digitos in manibus non habent. Quid jam? Quod incedunt cum anulatis auribus.*" And Plautus makes this same Milphio invoke Hanno in these terms, "*Tu qui zonam non habes!*"

Finally, in one other respect did the custom of the Carthaginian differ from his contemporaries, the Greek and Roman, in that he practised inhumation in preference to cremation, and thus acted consistently with Semitic ideas. That he at a later date adopted the practice of cremation, is true, and for a very definite reason, as will be shown later, but he nevertheless clung to and never wholly abandoned his older and racial custom.

And so it comes about that while in the Necropolis of Douïmes, the oldest known Punic cemetery, instances of cremation are almost entirely absent, in that of Bord-el-Djedid they are frequently met with, the cemetery known as the *Nécropole de St. Louis* filling up the gap and forming the link between the two separate epochs belonging to the first-named necropoleis.

CHAPTER II

But for a full comprehension of the ideals and motives of a people, it is invariably to their religious beliefs we must turn, and it is here that we shall find the solution of much that would otherwise remain cryptic.

The school-boy knows well enough that Punic Carthage was given up to the worship of Baâl, but when we go further and try to understand what was actually the essence of this degrading Baâl worship, we find it to have been a manifestation of that all-pervading Sun and Moon worship, or worship of the vivifying principle of Nature which, in its dual form, underlay the whole of the physical world; a worship as surely the antithesis of the Christian spiritual ideal as death is the antithesis of life, but nevertheless a worship which, by reason of the universality of its symbols, would seem to have formed the nucleus of all the faiths, save one, that the world has ever known.

As it spread over the face of the earth and was readily accepted by all nations and kindreds and peoples and tongues, the worship and its symbols, from Budh Gaya to Mexico, remaining for ever the same, it was the deities only who changed their

names as they changed their climes, and local legends gathered fast around them.

The degree of elevation or depravity to which this worship was capable of attaining would naturally entirely depend on the varied temperaments of its votaries, but that it was capable of lending itself to all forms of horror and degradation has been only too frequently and too fully proved. Here then was the "abomination of the Sidonians," the temptation which ever beset the steps of the Jews in their journey both spiritual and temporal to the Promised Land.

From the universal domination of this Baâl or Bel worship, then, the Phœnician no more escaped than the rest of humanity has done from the time when Nimrod the Hunter erected the Tower of Ba-Bel on the Plain of Shinar, which reached, or rather pointed unto heaven, till that mentioned by Mr. Samuel Laing, who says :—

"The last traces of the Summer solstice are still lingering in the remote parts of Scotland and Ireland, in the Bel-fires which, when I was young, were lighted on Midsummer Night on the highest hills of Orkney and Shetland. As a boy I have rushed with my playmates through the smoke of these bonfires without a suspicion that we were repeating the homage paid to Baâl in the Valley of Hinnom."

Nor are the Bel-fires yet extinguished. They burn as they have ever done on Midsummer Eve throughout the fair land of France, but consecrated to the honour of St. Jean Baptiste. And indeed we may trace the demon whom Milton

calls Baâlzebub, and whom Christ reveals as the Father of Lies, to this very living present when in Christian Brittany the peasants pay secret reverence to their Menhirs or erect stones, rubbing them with honey, wax, and oil, when they would be freed from the curse of sterility.

On the Menhir at Dol, subsequent Christianity has consecrated this monolith by carving on its surface a representation of the Crucifixion, but above this sacred emblem may be seen staring forth, as though in exulting pagan triumph, the Masonic symbols of the sun and crescent moon, representing, to the ancient mind, the father and the mother of the physical world.

The Gods of Carthage were primarily of Sidonian origin, but side by side with them are found, especially in the oldest tombs, images and representations in countless numbers of many of the gods of the Egyptians. This is not so surprising when we remember the ease with which the ancients seem to have accepted foreign gods whom they without any apparent difficulty identified with their own by the simple process of re-christening them.

The Masonic symbolism of Sun and Moon worship in this respect made the whole world kin. It was the Jew alone who in his struggle to maintain faith in the one true spiritual God stood absolutely apart from the rest of the world, since his was the faith which could have no part or lot with any other, all others being fundamentally and diametrically opposed to his own.

Possibly herein may lie hidden the explanation

of that curious moral phenomenon, the wide-spread antipathy (we might even say physical antipathy) to the Jew evinced by so many Christian peoples and races; not, most probably, arising from Christian zeal in the Middle Ages or any age within the last two thousand years; not because the Christian people by reason of their purer doctrine and higher ideals are, theoretically at least, superior to the Jews, but simply and solely because the races which are now Christian, some twenty centuries ago, belonged to "those lesser breeds without the law," those nations of the Gentiles, all of them without exception given over to the worship of human passion. For it is not from Christians alone that the Jew suffers expulsion. Nothing could be more striking than the whole-hearted aversion shown by the Arabs of to-day to their Hebrew cousins, for, though in the East they have lived side by side throughout the ages, have dressed alike and in most respects lived alike, never have they mingled, nor do they mingle, in the great functions of their lives, in their marriages, in their worship, or in their feasts. Indeed so strong is the antipathy of the Arab for the Jew, that while loath to admit a Christian inside his mosque, he will in some places and in some cases, for certain considerations, influential and otherwise, relax this rule, on condition that the visitor states on his oath that he is not a Jew nor of Jewish blood.

It is indeed only necessary to re-read the fierce denunciations of the old Hebrew prophets against Jerusalem, on her lapses into idolatry, to realize

how hard was her task in thus upholding the true faith alone in a world of Baâl worshippers, and how often she failed and fell from her proud position of protest against this universal adoration of human passion.

The question as to why the Egyptian gods in their original character are found side by side with those of Tyre and Sidon in the Punic tombs cannot as yet be answered with certainty.

It is possible that when driven from the land of Canaan by the Children of Israel, the Phœnicians passed through Egypt, or possibly sojourned there before eventually finding their way to the loveliest gulf of the Mediterranean to found the Kirjath Hadeschath, or New City, in the neighbourhood of the more ancient Utica.

For modern criticism has dispelled the charm which lingered round the legend of Dido and her association with the foundation of Carthage, and we are to relinquish our faith in the pleasing story of the bull's hide cut into many strips, and to accept Byrsa as being derived from Bozra, a Semitic word signifying 'fortress.'

In Egypt they may have learned the cult of Osiris, or perhaps it was only in the process of trafficking commercially with the people of the Nile that they came into possession of such quantities of graven images and amulets bearing a wholly Egyptian character.

Further labours in the tombs of Carthage and further comparative study, prosecuted by the wise White Fathers, may possibly reveal in time a complete answer to this question.

Meanwhile the gods of Carthage may be dealt with in order—beginning with

> ". . . Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians call'd
> Astarte, queen of heaven, with crescent horns;
> To whose bright image nightly by the moon
> Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs."

We find her first in Chaldæa, where, under the name of Ishtah, she takes her place as Virgo the Virgin, among the signs of the Zodiac.

Ishtah, according to a Chaldæan poem, went to the under-world, the world of the dead, in search of the Sun-god who had been taken away by death.

Ishtah is said to have knocked at the mournful and dusky gates of the nether world, and was at first refused admittance. When she at length gained entrance, she found a succession of other gates, and at every one she was deprived of some article or ornament of dress. Her head-dress, earrings, necklace, even her beautiful outer robe, were taken away, and in humiliation she was brought before the ruler of that gloomy place.

During her stay beneath, everything in the world above became cold and lifeless, being deprived of the divine influence of love.

When at length she was released and restored to the Sun-god, and together they returned to the upper air, great was the joy of the reviving earth.

In a votive tablet from South Arabia her name is spelt Athtah, approaching, rather more nearly, the Ashteroth of Canaan and the Astarte of Carthage. In Greece she becomes Aphrodite, or again Persephone, and therefore to the Romans, Proserpina, though indeed they identified her variously with Diana and Venus Cœlestis.

A question arises to-day as to whether or no she is to be identified with Tanith of Lebanon. Recent excavations at Carthage having brought to light a long Punic inscription in which is mentioned the dedication of a Temple to the Goddess Tanith and the Goddess Astarte, archæologists are naturally considering whether the two separate names are now to be looked upon as belonging to two separate personalities rather than the various titles of one deity.

Possibly the answer to this question may be, that the name Astarte and Tanith signified two separate *and quite opposite* aspects of the one goddess, *i.e.* that while Tanith may have been symbolic of the full moon and likewise of motherhood, Astarte, on the other hand, signified the crescent or virgin moon. This would seem to offer an answer to the question as to why the Romans should elect to identify her with such different personalities as Venus Cœlestis and Diana.

In Assyrian mythology the planet Venus was worshipped as the chaste goddess Istar when she appeared as a morning star, but as the impure Bilit or Beltis when she shone as an evening star.

Again, among the Phœnicians of Syria, Astoreth is her name when she is the chaste goddess, but Ashera answers to the idea of a foul spirit. Thus the two aspects of the moon, the first and the last, the crescent and the full, were variously interpreted. *Tainat*, the Chaldæan prototype of Tanith, had the form of a monstrous dragon or Sphinx—winged, scaly, and with lion's feet.

Traces of the worship of the virgin goddess are

still lingering among us in those many crescent-like objects which, it is claimed by the superstitious, bring good luck. Among these may be mentioned the horseshoe, the wish-bone or merrythought, from the breast of a chicken, the lucky hand of Fatmeh in vogue among the Arabs, and a similar hand fashioned usually in coral and used by the Italians to ward off the evil eye; not to mention the familiar gesture of raising the index and little finger so as to leave, as it were, the two horns of the crescent moon. To this list may even be added the *croissant* roll, familiar to the French breakfast-table, being a survival of one of the forms of cakes baked for the Queen of Heaven. Even the lucky eyelash must not be forgotten; as it lies on the back of the hand of the superstitious, waiting to be beaten off as soon as the "wish" is made, it delicately but very perfectly describes a crescent—a perfect miniature of the *very* new moon.

Accepting this view of the emblematic value of crescentiform symbols, it is easy to see how the cow, on account of its horns, has appealed so strongly to the heathen imagination, no matter whether this appeal effected the making of Golden Calves, or legends of Io, or pictures of Isis, or the Cow-worship surviving in present-day Hindooism.

Among the Phallic Towers still scattered over the face of the earth, and usually symbolic of the male principle, or Sun-god, will be remembered the "Devil's Tower" of Gibraltar, which, unlike most other examples, is crowned or completed with two horns.

CHAPTER III

FOLLOWING after Astarte in alphabetical order comes Baâl Moloch, whom the Romans identified with Saturn, and the Greeks with Chronos, since he was the devourer of his own children, and who may likewise without hesitation be identified with Beelzebub or Satan. Dr. Davis, during his labours at Carthage, did not find a single tablet which omitted his name. It is more than probable, however, that the term Baâl admits of a double interpretation, and includes two different aspects of one idea, being the name under which were united the two everlasting principles underlying the whole of nature—the male and female,—and that when we find Baâl in conjunction with the horns or crescent, serpent, pyramid or triangle, it is Baâl Astoreth, the female principle or goddess, who is represented.

No one who has once entered the Gulf of Tunis can fail to have been impressed by the majestic Bou-Khornaïn, or Two-Horned Mountain, whose eternal grandeur was there the same as to-day when St. Louis closed his eyes for the last time upon it; whose horns had pierced through the cloud which hung round it, as it hangs to-day when Hannibal, Scipio, Saints Augustine, Monica

and Belisarius, lifted their eyes to it, and when the Martyrs, Saints Cyprian, Perpetua, and Felicitas, perished within view of it. The hot springs welled up within its volcanic heart then, as they do to-day, flowing out over the little Arab town of Hammam Lif, whose name, being interpreted, means "Baths of Life," and staining the soil a rich ferruginous red as its waters go to join the sea.

On the western point of this mountain, where in the old days the priests of Carthage were wont to sacrifice, an altar was discovered in 1891, and some hundreds of votive offerings to the god Saturn, surnamed Balcaranensis, a word in which it is easy to recognize the name of Horned Baâl, Baâl Kornaïn, closely approaching the actual present-day name of the mountain, Bou Khornaïn, or Bou Khornine, which signifies "Two-Horned Mountain."

A stele decorated with a triangle enclosing a star, engraved above a crescent whose ends pointed upwards, was also found. Beneath the triangle the following letters could be read—

SATV *rno Bal*
CAR *anensis*
sacrum.

The name Baâl Kornaïn or Bou Khornaïn recalls that of the city Asteroth Karnaim, mentioned in the Book of Genesis (xiv. 5), which in all probability was so named for the reason that it was built on a mountain with two summits.

Another Sidonian deity, likewise of Chaldæan origin, found his way to the Pantheon of Carthage.

This god, known to the Greeks by the name of Triton, has left no Punic name behind, but is nevertheless recognizable as the "twice-battered god" of Canaan—Dagon the fish-god, or god of the sea.

The Chaldæan story, which recalls the Christian ἴχθυς, tells how one Oannes or Ea-Han, a divine fish-man, came out of the Persian Gulf and taught mankind art, science, laws, and letters.

In this last-mentioned god may be traced the mystic and ubiquitous name of John, a name which, followed back through any channel, inevitably arrives at the sacred source of Jehovah or Jove.

Lastly among the Sidonian deities comes Melcarth, to whom one learned writer turns with a sigh of relief, from the evil atmosphere of Baâl Moloch and Astarte.

Melcarth or Melech Kirjath, called by the Greeks the Phœnician Hercules, was pre-eminently god of the City of Tyre, and Herodotus, who visited his temple there, mentions that though no image of the god was to be seen, it contained two splendid pillars, one of pure gold and one of emerald, which shone brilliantly at night.

Here undoubtedly, however, was but one more manifestation of the ruling idea in their system of worship, and the two splendid pillars, the true Pillars of Hercules, like Hiram's pillars at the porch of Solomon's temple, were symbolic of the vitalizing principle in nature. The gold pillar would represent the colour of the sun, and the emerald the colour of that serpent which, in this

terrible doctrine, completed the trinity of evil. We are not, however, told if they were united by an arch which would represent the Moon.

Of the Egyptian Pantheon the following deities are represented in the Punic tombs :—

Anubis, the jackal-faced god, who was worshipped by the Egyptians as a deity possibly because the tombs of the dead were the haunts of the jackal, and because from their fear and dread they evolved the idea that the beast who prowled among and sometimes devoured the bodies of the dead was therefore the guide of the dead in the under-world on their way to Osiris.

Ast or *Isis*, whose hieroglyphic symbol was a throne or altar, and who, crowned with the horns enclosing a disc, was wholly significant of the feminine spirit of the universe—was robed and crowned by the wings and head of the sacred Vulture. That this sacred adornment or robe of office was worn by Carthaginian priestesses is conclusively shown on the most beautiful Punic sarcophagus as yet discovered.

Bes, clothed in a *βυρσα*, or bull's hide, and sometimes playing on a harp, was worshipped as the God of Music, slaughter, and war, and as a destroying force of nature.

Pthah, a form of the Sun-god, was the chief god of all handicraftsmen and workers in metals and stone, and was identified by the Greeks with Vulcan.

Rā, the Sun-god, being operative and creative in power, and in age the oldest of all except Osiris.

Osiris, the God of the Dead.—The oldest religious texts refer to him as being the great God

of the Dead, and state that he once possessed human form and lived on earth, and that by means of some unusual power or powers he was able to bestow upon himself after death a new life, which he lived in a new body as king, into which life he was believed to be willing to admit all such as had lived a good and correct life.

Amen Rā, the names originally of two distinct deities who after the Thirteenth Dynasty were united into one composite being, the Sun-god or author of the creative and generative principles.

The oudjah, or mystic eye of Osiris, is also met with, together with the Scarabæus and the Uræus, emblems of Royalty and Divinity, and there are amulets and other representations of such Egyptian objects of worship as the Lotus, the Lion, the Cynocephalus, the Bull of Apis, Sparrowhawks, Crocodiles, Serpents, etc.

The remaining symbols belonging properly to Carthage are as follows :—

The Palm, worshipped at Carthage no doubt on account of the resemblance of its foliage to the rising sun.

The Horse.—Tradition says that Carthage was built on a spot where a horse's head was dug up. The horse in one form or another invariably appears on the Punic coins, and in many instances it is winged like its Assyrian prototype.

The disc of Tanith (full moon).

The crescent of Astarte (new moon).

The Triangle.

The Fish.

The Dove.

It now remains to record in order the funeral offerings, inscriptions, and other objects, recovered in turn from the three Punic Necropoleis respectively of Douïmes, St. Louis, and Bord-el-Djedid.

CHAPTER IV

In 1892 an Arab stone searcher came to the Convent of the White Fathers, with some small objects which he wished to show to the Reverend Père Delattre, the Arch-priest of Carthage, having just found them in a plot of ground which went by the Arab name of Douïmes.

Till this moment futile attempts had been made by various archæologists, besides the White Fathers themselves, to discover some true indications of the oldest forms of Punic burial.

The objects in question proved to be as follows :—

A silver earring, some necklace beads, some of silver, some of hard stone and some of blue, green or white faïence. Many of them, being of Egyptian workmanship, proved to skilled eyes peculiarly interesting. Two tiny figurines represented the God Phthah, two others the God Bes. From the experience acquired by previous excavations it was obvious that these articles of adornment could only have come from a Punic tomb.

The Arab was thereupon engaged to continue his search and acquaint the Reverend Father with the result. But not finding that which above all was the object of his attentive consideration,

namely, a wall which he could destroy, in order to sell the stones to a builder, he soon abandoned the field in question in order to drive his pickaxe into some other point of the old city.

Nevertheless the clue had been given, but various considerations hindered commencing the excavation of this fascinating spot.

The Fathers must first find the means necessary to satisfy the money-hungry Arabs whom it would be necessary to employ in their undertaking. And so it came about that it was not until the following year, after the harvest, that they could see their way to setting to work.

A covering of grey soil about two mètres in depth was first dug into before arriving at the primitive clay in which the Carthaginians had hollowed out the last dwelling-places of their dead.

By the month of November 1893 sixty tombs were opened. The greater number were nothing more than simple graves covered with slabs of unworked tufa, the only species of stone employed by primitive Carthaginians for construction. By a process of infiltration each grave was filled with a deposit of fine yellow sand.

The funereal accompaniments were usually composed of two double-handled urns of medium size, two small single-handled phials or vases, a flat lamp with two beaks and its patera or saucer, and to this set of articles was occasionally found added a bronze hatchet razor, a handbell, a pair of cymbals, a mirror and other articles of toilette, necklaces, rings, bracelets, pendants, painted vases, figurines

masks, amulets, scarabæi, shells and little stones, and many miscellaneous objects in ivory, gold, silver, lead, etc.

To avoid a repetition of the finds recorded in the Journal or daily log-book of the Fathers, the plan adopted will be to take each object in turn and give, as far as possible, a comparative description of it.

By the following March, in the year 1894, the number of tombs discovered had mounted to about one hundred and fifty. The last of these deserves notice. It was composed of one chamber, of which the ceiling was protected by a sort of ridge, formed by the divisions abutting one against the other, a type of subterranean construction already met with in the Necropolis of St. Louis.

The interior of the chamber was absolutely intact. To the left, along the side of the wall, three slight infiltrations of sand only had succeeded in penetrating the vertical joints of the flagstones. The chamber enclosed no sarcophagi analogous to those of St. Louis. On the contrary, the two skeletons lying there were reposing directly on the stone slabs. The bones lay completely disjointed and flat upon the ground, only the extremities of the larger ones having preserved their form. But in each case there was found mingled with the crumbled bones, shreds of rotten wood, and in between parts of the bones and wood existed a layer of fine yellow sand, all of which would seem to point to the conclusion that a cedar-wood coffin had first enclosed the corpses, had admitted the

infiltration of sand, and finally had crumbled into decay around the skeleton.

Another tomb, discovered in July of the same year, probably enclosed the remains of a fisherman, for two bronze fish-hooks were there and several pieces of lead, with which last no doubt he was wont to weight his net. Here likewise were found the remains of a very thick sheet of lead or tin, which seemed to have covered a large part of the body, and which served possibly as a coffin.

In October, an exceptionally large tomb was opened, two and a half mètres in length and one and a half in width, and 1·44 mètres in height, the corpse being buried at a depth of nine mètres below the actual soil. Two skeletons were here, and a golden ring and a bronze bracelet lay beside the crumbling bones of the arm. A peculiarity of this tomb was that the walls were plastered with stucco of an extremely fine and durable character, with the white and crystallized appearance of snow, which, when illuminated by the candles of those who entered, sparkled with a thousand luminous points. Part of this plastering had become detached, and had fallen in large sheets on to the skeleton ; another part, without breaking away, inclined forward like a huge sheet of cardboard. The density of this stucco was such that at the least touch it gave out a metallic ringing sound. An enormous and perfectly square stone closed the opening of this tomb. A golden disc about the size of a sixpence, found together with many other accompaniments, deserves especial notice. It was almost covered with microscopic Punic characters.

They proved to be archaic, belonging to the fifth or sixth century B.C. ; deciphered by M. Philippe Berger, the inscription reads thus :—"To Astarte Pygmalion, Tadmelak, son of Padai, Pygmalion delivers whomsoever he will."

Here we have not only the name of the man buried in this tomb, but also the hitherto unknown association of Pygmalion in the Pantheon of Carthage.

Another tomb belonging to the series of those opened in 1895 contained an earthen phial bearing a Punic inscription written in black ink, in which could be deciphered the name Abd-Melkart, thought by those who discovered it to belong very probably to the corpse who had been buried in this tomb.

In a single grave, closed with large slabs of stone, with the usual potteries (two urns, two phials, a lamp and its patera), a small cauldron, a little grey sea-pebble, some bits of iron, lead and bronze, together with some bronze fishing-hooks, shells of conic and elliptical form having served as receivers or even lamps, since the extremity of one had become blackened by the action of fire ; a grinding-stone ; and lastly, the chased bezel of a ring encircled in gold, being a cornelian in the form of a scarabæus, of which the flat side bore the engraving of an upright figure, draped in a simple cloth or *klaft*, and wearing a high conical cap. This tomb must have, no doubt, enclosed the remains of a Carthaginian fisherman.

Another simple grave closed by large slabs of stone was opened in February 1895. Near the

head of the skeleton, besides the lamp and its patera, were found two phials and three urns of medium size and two terra cotta masks. Each one was provided with a hole above, to enable them to be suspended, notwithstanding they never had been suspended in this tomb. The faces of these masks were slightly smiling in expression, the neck flattened and dotted alternately with red and blue. Traces of the same colour appeared in the hair and head-dress, which terminated, Egyptian fashion, in two flat bands, slightly accentuated, falling perpendicularly each side of the face and neck. At the feet of the skeleton were gathered up some broken fragments of ostrich eggshell, on which were painted the features of a face, some red lead or vermilion in fairly large quantities, and about a hundred necklace beads, among which were a good number of amulets representing well-known subjects.

The foregoing is a description fairly representative of the tombs found in this particular cemetery, being typical of the oldest-known forms of Punic sepulture. In every case the grave is found at a depth of about twenty to thirty feet, below the accumulated soil of subsequent upheavals, dug out of the primitive clay and covered with the simple slabs of tufa, the only indigenous stone belonging to the place. The absence of a Greek influence and the constant presence of an Egyptian character in the works and objects of art found in the tombs is likewise distinctive of this period, as also is the absence of cremation, and almost entire

presence of inhumation. But of the workmanship found in all the tombs the only two objects which may be pointed to with any certainty as belonging exclusively to Punic art and invention, are the curious amphoræ which terminate in stems at the base, instead of the usual inverted cone, and the very primitive clay lamp which, often blackened by the flame, and in many cases still preserving its wick, offers a perfect example of the archetype of the lamps of all later ages. Originally copied from the natural form of a shell, it consisted of a simple plate or disc of red earth, with usually a yellowish covering. Half the circumference of this disc was pinched back in three places, thus leaving two beaks for the wick. This type of lamp has not till lately been found at Carthage, nor indeed throughout the whole of Africa, but has been met with in the Phœnician necropoleis of Sardinia, and also at Saïda (ancient Sidon) from the magnificent sepulchre of King Tabnite, the father of Achmounazar. Curiously the same primitive form of lamp still survives and is used to-day by the peasants of Malta and Gozzo, and by the Arabs of Tunis, the latter improving on the original model by adding a stem and foot to heighten it.

To leave the most simple form of lamp in order to deal with the most complicated found in Carthage, may appear to be an unscientific manner of dealing with the results of the excavations, but the Greek and Roman types are so well known, and examples of them abound in the

museums, that practically any time spent on them is so much taken away from the more important, because less widely known, Punic types.

The following strange piece is therefore offered for contemplation.

Imagine, then, seven little cups of goblet form, of grey earthenware, fixed on to a hollow horizontal cylinder, with which they communicate. The cylinder rests on a slightly conic base, and from the midst of this rises, in front, the head of a cow with fine long horns. This head is likewise pierced with a hole, communicating with the cylinder, and is itself surmounted by a head of the Egyptian goddess, Isis-Hathor. The first impression given by this piece of pottery is that of a seven-branched candlestick, and it has been thought that the goblets served to hold wicks made from the pith of elder-trees which were fed by the oil contained in the cylinder, and that a cork or stopper of some kind prevented it from escaping through the orifice of the cow's head. A drawing of this strange lamp submitted to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres drew forth the following observations from M. Maspero.

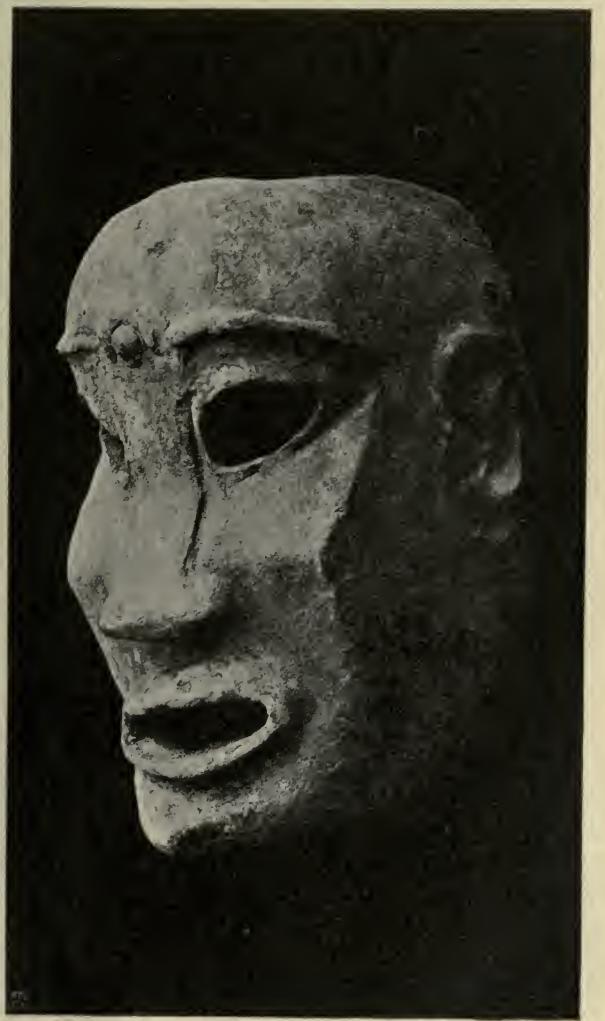
"The object in question," he says, "reminded me immediately of the plates covered with little cups which are met with rather frequently in the neighbourhood of Egyptian tombs. They are found arranged six or eight on two lines, nine on three lines, and seven on one line. They are all arranged on one flat rectangular support and do not communicate with each other. They affect different forms according to the epochs to which

they belong, some being small open goblets, some again rotund little vases, and only one tubular or of the phial shape analogous to our present specimen. They served as goblets of offering, to receive the liquids and cakes presented to the dead and to the gods, and especially the canonical oils to the number of seven, or nine more usually, but which could be reduced by facultative omission to eight and six or even four or two. It seems to me that this Carthaginian specimen is a fairly faithful copy of a service of goblets of this kind." (*Comptes rendus des séances* 12 *Juillet*, 1895.)

By the side of this, it is interesting to read the remarks offered by the Reverend Père Delattre, the finder of the terra cotta in question :—

"An analogous piece has been found in Sardinia ; I find it in the illustrated catalogue of the collection of Sardinian antiquities of Raimond Chessa, printed in Cagliari in 1868. The drawing given of it seems to indicate, on the support, a flat and hollow disc communicating with the seven beaks and with a ram's head, pierced no doubt like the cow's head of our vase. Here is the description of it given by Vincent Crespi, the author of the catalogue.

"'The vase I am about to describe,'" he says, "'is one of those objects whose singularity of form makes it difficult to describe at first sight. In fact it represents a sort of lamp with seven perpendicular branches, similar to the orifice or upper part of a vase of any sort in the shape of a bottle, disposed in a circle commenced and terminated by a ram's head, and upheld by a base about 0·10 mètre in



[*See p.* 40.

PUNIC MASK, SIXTH CENTURY (*Douïmes*)

height. I cannot for certain affirm this object to be actually a lamp, but in the case of its being one it would probably be symbolic, or even magical in character, not only because it is a many-branched lamp, of which type we have discovered several, but on account of that number of branches so often found in Egyptian monuments to indicate the seven planets.'

"Admitting this conjecture, the ram's head placed among the branches would represent Jupiter Ammon, the supreme divinity, and the seven branches represented the seven planets, to whom the lamp was dedicated, possibly, in accordance with the beliefs of the ancients, to draw down the rain to their fields and procure for the earth a happy fecundity."

The Tyrians who founded Carthage had borrowed first from Egypt, then from Chaldæa and Assyria, the products of their art and industry in order to trade with these goods, not only in the isles and on the coasts of the Mediterranean, but even in Gaul as far as the banks of the Seine and the Rhine.

It is easy to recognize in the specimens preserved to-day at Carthage these diverse influences. Here are figurines of Chaldæan type, there, masks and amulets, coming from Egypt, or else manufactured on the spot by means of moulds brought from Egypt. Later on—that is to say, towards the sixth or fifth century B.C.—Carthage witnessed the unloading on her quays of quantities of Greek vases and other pottery. There are found, in fact, in various parts of the ancient city numerous vases of

Hellenic fabrication. The clay of these vases is of a pale red, frequently covered with a beautiful black varnish. Many of the Greek terra cotta lamps bear Punic *graffiti*, which proves their use and importation to have belonged to the Carthaginian era. Some of them are unvarnished, and to facilitate their sale in the Carthaginian markets these lamps were at times appropriated to the cult most in honour in the Punic city. It is thus that we find one of them bearing the emblem of Tanith, that is to say, a triangle surmounted by a horizontal bar and disc.

[*See p.* 167.

ETRUSCAN VASE, DEPICTING A LADY'S TOILET
(*Bord-el-Djedid*)

[*See p.* 167.

GOLDEN PENDANTS OR EARRINGS

CHAPTER V

THE masks recovered from the Punic tombs of Douïmes are not the least interesting of the treasures preserved in the Museum of St. Louis of Carthage. The most striking perhaps of any as yet discovered is a large grotesque in terra cotta which came to light in September 1893. It would seem to be one of those rare specimens of Punic art and handicraft which are being sought for very naturally with so much more avidity than the well-known Greek, Roman or Egyptian types. It is, moreover, peculiarly hideous, having a low narrow forehead, large flat nose, protruding cheek-bones and wry mouth, retaining traces of black paint. The mouth and eyes are formed by cutting out the clay to leave the necessary spaces. The ears are decorated with earrings, while round the edge are distributed five holes, one at the top, one above each ear and one below. Absolutely nothing of Greek or Egyptian is here either in conception or handling. In fact, it bears the hall-mark of its Punic origin at the base of the forehead and commencement of the nose, in the clearly-defined crescent surmounting the disc which it encloses in its abased points, an emblem whose significance has already been dwelt upon in the foregoing pages,

and one which appears constantly, either on votive stelæ at Carthage, or engraved on the bezel of rings, or again fashioned as an amulet and threaded on to a necklace. This mask changes expression curiously, according as it is viewed at full face, three quarters, or profile.

Many of the masks collected and preserved in the Museum of St. Louis recall the art of Japan rather than that of the Mediterranean, on account of the extraordinary realism with which they are executed. Another mask similar in character was procured in Mesopotamia by M. Charles Texier, and eventually given to the Louvre, where reposes also a Punic mask from Carthage, and several identical specimens found in Sardinia are to be seen in the very interesting collection at Cagliari, whose Museum of Antiquities has perhaps more in common with that of Carthage than any other in existence.

Another extremely interesting mask, oval in shape, has neither beard nor moustache, but close side whiskers are indicated by a double hollowed line running from the eyebrows to the lower part of the jaw, leaving the centre of the chin bare. The hair is represented as crisply curled, and the eyes are slightly obliquely set in the head, inclining towards the nose. The pupils and the eyelashes are painted black and the eyeballs white. The skin of the face is indicated by a strong red colouring. But that which renders the mask of peculiar value is that it preserves the bronze earrings and the silver nose-ring or *nézem* with which it was ornamented when originally placed in the tomb.

Until this last was found the prevailing belief was that nose-rings were relegated to the toilet of women only, but this whiskered mask proves very conclusively that they were, at one time at least, worn by men also. Another quite small and bearded mask was of silver, and yet another in red earth and an identical one in grey earth are wholly Egyptian in character. But the varied types of masks are not thus exhausted, for yet another comes to light, formed by a disc cut from an ostrich shell and painted with features. This disc form recalls another in granite in which eyes, nose and mouth are rudely cut, and it is thought they were meant to represent the goddess Tanith, or the full moon.

We may now notice a particular and special find which is more prized than any other treasure trove gathered from the soil of Carthage, namely, the curious and interesting hatchet razors which up till now have not revealed themselves in identical form in any other part of the globe. True there may be seen in the British Museum, among the Egyptian tools and bronze implements, the broken portion of a very large bronze razor, similar in form though not in size, and devoid of engraving; and in the Natural History Museum of Bordeaux may be seen a broken and oxydized fragment hailing from Sayes near Argélès in the Hautes Pyrénées, which is labelled "Hache ciseau en bronze." When we remember that among the ancients the Phœnicians were the miners *par excellence* and that the Romans and Greeks frequently hired them or paid them to work mines for them, and that to-day the Pyrénées

abound in mines worked and shafts sunk by the ancients, then it is not an unreasonable suggestion that the green flaky morsel at Bordeaux may claim relationship to the beautiful specimen found to-day in the Punic tombs of Carthage.

While the most beautiful, perfect and engraved specimens are found in the Necropoleis of St. Louis and Bord-el-Djedid, and therefore to be noticed later on more fully, it is necessary here to mention that though they are rarely engraved when found in the cemetery at present described, namely, that of Douïmes, yet they are found together with the rest of the charms and objects of ornament and necessity disposed at the side of the earliest Carthaginians in their tombs: for like our Neolithic friend now residing in Bloomsbury, the earliest inhabitants of the "Kirjath Hadeschath" or "New City," the Tarshish of Ezekiel, were laid simply down to rest in their scooped-out graves—though it is true they lay flat on their backs—were supplied with nourishment placed in jars which surrounded them, weapons occasionally, but very, very rarely, for the early Carthaginian was no warrior; and, above all, charms and talismans of every possible description to help them in their hour of need, when they came face to face with the unseen dæmons of the under-world. Finally the grave was closed with unworked slabs of tufa after the primitive bicorn lamp had been filled, lit and left to burn itself out. Traces of dried milk in one vase, the skeleton of a quail in another, residue of wine in a third, and the little

lamps still preserving the charred remains of their wicks, all testify to the prevailing religion of fear for the life to come.

The presence of the razors, however, opens out quite another branch of speculation. That the barber, like the midwife, has fallen on evil days is clear, when we remember that "the holy barber's work" was so utterly sacred as to be solemnized by a religious ceremony even as late as the days of St. Paul, and that as we go back in time to search the origins of this mystic calling, we not only find votive offerings of sacred barbers and tonsures composing part of the *personnel* of the temple of Astarte, but if we look to the hieroglyphic symbols *Neter*, signifying gods, we find them to resemble fleams or razors more than they resemble anything else. This is not the place, however, to indulge in a dissertation on the gradual decline and fall in dignity of the barbers' profession, from the time when it was wholly set apart to the sanctified administration of the hierophants till only a hundred years ago in this country, before the incorporation of the Royal College of Surgeons by Royal Charter, when the Barber Surgeons of England were persons of distinct importance and dignity, and continually rewarded for their services by the honour of knighthood. One is reminded of another neglected profession mentioned further back, by the French rather than the English name of the practitioner, for so hard is the death of a once living idea that it will often shed an afterglow across the space of time in names and symbols whose meaning has long been forgotten.

It requires an effort of reconstructive imagination to recognize in the *Sage Femme* of to-day that dread Wise Woman, or Witch, who in the far past was wont to preside at the advent of the sons of Adam. In a picture of realistic writing, painting the obscure indignity which has overtaken these two professions, a curious unconscious irony is shown in making Mrs. Gamp to dwell over a barber's shop.

If modern biologists declare generation to be the fairyland of physiology, how much more must the mystery of Birth and Life and Death have impressed the mind and soul of the Ancient World.

But as concerning the presence of these curious hatchet razors beside the corpses, the last word has yet to be said. They are by no means most plentiful in the oldest cemetery of Douïmes, indeed by far the most beautiful specimens have been found in the graves of Bord-el-Djedid, but that they are not obsolete and extinct in the present day is testified by missionaries to Equatorial Africa, who have supplied specimens of razors used by the negroes of Tanganyika, and which, placed side by side with the Punic razors, show too strong a resemblance to admit of any doubt as to their affinity.

Usually of bronze, they are occasionally found to be of pure copper when submitted to the chemical analysis, necessary in their oxidized state, to distinguish the one metal from the other.

The amulets and charms may next be noticed. These are so plentiful as to render enumeration more wearisome and less effective than illustration,

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

[*See p.* 62.

PUNIC NECKLACE (*St. Louis*)

CORNELL
UNIVERSITY

but that the Carthaginian taste was eclectic both as to material and subject may be concluded when we observe that they employed such a variety as gold, silver, lead, ivory, ebony, lava, jasper, cornelian, emerald, mother of pearl, enamel, agate, lapis lazuli and coloured glass of many kinds, to form such shapes as the gods and goddesses Osiris, Phthah, Bes, Horus, Anubis, Rā, Isis, Astarte, Baâl-Moloch, Tanith, the uræus, the cynocephalus, the scarabæus, the *oudjah* or mystic eye of Osiris, etc., etc., etc. These were usually strung together on a thread and hung around the neck of the corpse as an array of magic charms to keep off harm from the helpless body and disembodied soul.

A small figurine shows the god Bes grotesquely squatting, with his feet resting on two crocodiles, holding in his hands the tails of two lions. The reverse of this statuette bears an Egyptian inscription arranged in four vertical columns of hieroglyphic signs, being evidently one of those magic formulæ to which the ancients attached a superstitious influence, capable of preserving them from the peril of harmful beasts of prey, and intended to be worn as a talisman.

Of the very numerous scarabæi found in the graves, one bears three hieroglyphic characters signifying "Rā is the true ichneumon," an allusion to the cult of the ichneumon and its identification with Rā.

The Egyptians professed a religious cult of the ichneumon, or Pharaoh's rat, the "*Herpestes Pharaonis*," an animal met with on the banks of the Nyanza.

A second scarabæus bears the image of the goddess Sekhet, crowned with a disc and a sceptre in her hand. Her name is written in front of her and that of *Horou da hiti*, the magnanimous Horus of Psammetichus of the twenty-sixth Dynasty. This scarabæus is therefore of value in determining the furthest limit to which can be assigned the age of the tomb in which it was found, unless we allow for the possibility of the tomb having been of an earlier date, but used for the second time when the said scarabæus was placed there.

Psammetichus, who founded the twenty-sixth Dynasty, was one of the twelve kings who shared the government of Egypt at the death of Pharaoh Sethos, whom a statue represents with a rat in his hand and this inscription—"Learn by my example to respect the gods."

It was no doubt the ichneumon which Sethos thus presented for the veneration of the Egyptians.

Psammetichus reigned from 671 to 656 B.C. in the north-west part of Egypt to the west of the Delta, but he succeeded in driving out his colleagues and reigning alone until 617 B.C. It is said that he raised temples at Memphis in honour of the bull Apis and of Phthah. This Pharaoh encouraged foreigners in Egypt, built a fleet and attempted the conquest of Phœnicia. The presence, however, of this scarabæus in a sepulchre of Douïmes does not establish as a certainty the fact that the date of this particular tomb, and those immediately surrounding it, could not go back further than the seventh century B.C. It is known that tombs were sometimes re-used at later periods.

A third scarabæus shows the cartouche of Menkoaurî Mycerinus, the Mycerinos of Herodotus and the Mencheris of Manetho, who was the founder of the third great Pyramid of Gizeh; above, the title *Horou noubi*, the gilded Horus, the victorious Horus, and the goddess Sekhet with the lion's head, in the same pose as the preceding example.

Curiously, in the sloping side of the ground called by the Arab name of Douïmes was found, some twenty-two years ago, together with some votive offerings to Serapis, a marble tablet bearing the name of Manetho, the celebrated Egyptian historian who was priest to the above-mentioned divinity.

CHAPTER VI

SUFFICIENT evidence has now been offered to show the relationship which existed between Egypt and Carthage in such matters as manners, religion, and commercial intercourse.

That this cemetery of Douïmes is the oldest of the three groups is confirmed by the fact that its forms of sepulture are characterized by a simple grave or caves constructed with large stones, that the funereal accompaniments are of a special and distinct character, as well as by the absence of coins and of cremation, while, on the other hand, the remaining two necropoleis to be dealt with are characterized above all by the simultaneous usage of inhumation and cremation as well as the abundant presence of coins of various sizes and ages. The oldest necropolis has furnished a quantity of hieroglyphics; the least ancient, while enclosing Egyptian scarabæi and amulets, has not as yet yielded a single hieroglyphic.

The terra cotta figurines found in Douïmes have besides, an Egyptian or else a proto-Corinthian stamp, while those that come from Bord-el-Djedid, on the contrary, show an Italo-Greek or Etruscan influence.

The inscriptions on the vases, exceedingly rare

in the first necropolis, become relatively numerous in the second, the latter having yielded, among others, an Etruscan inscription, the first which has been found in Carthage.

It must be, however, stated that there have occurred very rare exceptions in the mode of disposing of the corpse in the earliest tombs. Occasionally a rude and huge monolithic sarcophagus has been met with—and, in one or two instances only, little stone coffers containing calcined bones have told that cremation was not unknown, though so rarely practised by this branch of the Semitic family.

Turning to the pottery of Douïmes we are reminded of the remark of the Abbé Cochet, the learned archæologist of Normandy, who wrote somewhere, "Pottery is the most valuable trace of the passage of humanity on this earth."

Here it is scarce in variety, for beyond the primitive types invariably found accompanying the rudimentary lamp and its patera, there is little to be noted besides the occasional appearance of alabaster vases and flasks of coloured glass, sometimes of considerable beauty in colour if not in form, and resembling those beautiful examples of which we are given such excellent illustrations in the volume dealing with Phœnicia, of Mons. Perrott's monumental work *L'Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*. One example is a perfume flask in black glass, on which have been incrusted some lines of white vitreous material. These lines towards the neck of the phial form parallel horizontal circles, then, nearing the centre, they

describe undulating lines, and finally, lower down, they become unequally zigzagged. This phial reveals great skill in the manipulation of glass in fusion.

Painted and enamelled specimens of terra cotta vases have been met with, though indeed there is nothing found here corresponding to the number and variety in the later cemeteries.

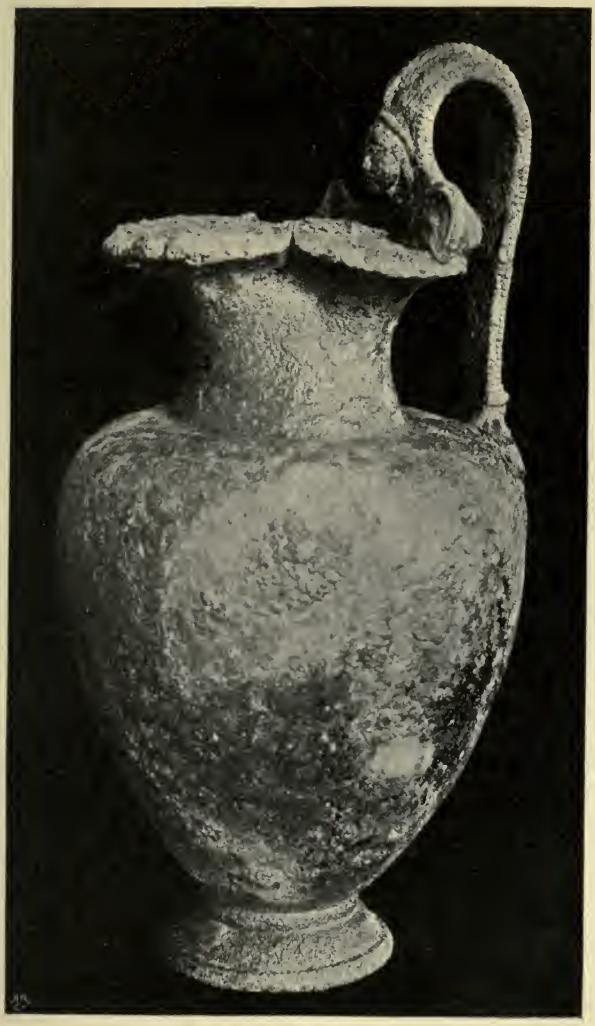
One somewhat remarkable terra cotta example has a spirited picture in which figures a warrior with a long lance and round buckler, another figure on horseback, and several women carrying urns on their heads. The lower point of attachment of the handle is formed of two serpents between which appears the eastern palm imitating a shell; probably the archetype of the Greek palmette, which appears so frequently in Hellenic ceramics.

Mons. Heron de Villefosse gives the following interpretation of the painting :—

"A vase, with black figures, and of the form known as *olpe*.

"The handle, somewhat heavy in appearance, is decorated at the base by two serpents separated by a half-rosette. The picture which ornaments the body of the vase depicts the episode of Achilles and Troïlos.

"On the left Achilles, helmeted, bears a round buckler on the left arm, and armed with a lance advances in a spirited manner towards the right, passing in front of the basin which receives the water from the fountain, behind which he was in ambuscade. Polyxena upright, draped, her arms



[*See p.* 88.

GILDED BRONZE VASE (*St. Louis*)

bare, turns her head in his direction. Behind her the young Troïlos on horseback, beardless, and with his hair falling on his back, advances tranquilly unarmed. He occupies the centre of the composition, of which the right is composed of the three figures of the young women, companions of Polyxena, draped, with bare arms and each one bearing an amphora on her head. The first of these upholds the amphora with her right hand, and turns towards her companions making a gesture of fear. The second holds the amphora with her left hand, and shares the fright of the first. The third seems less impressed. The dresses of these women are decorated with different ornaments. This little picture is framed on the left by a trellis, on the right by Greek keys; above, by a line of rosettes which surround the neck of the vase, and below by another line of larger rosettes which go round the body of the vase.

There is, however, as far as variety goes, nothing resembling the number of forms met with in the later cemetery of Bord-el-Djedid.

Rings.—The pattern of rings here is invariably the same, being really crescentiform, thick, and rounded in the centre, but tapering towards the two ends which meet the bezel formed by a seal inscribed like an Egyptian scarabæus. These rings are severally of gold, silver, or bronze.

Inscriptions.—The inscriptions unearthed from the soil of Douïmes are three in kind, being Punic, Hieroglyphic, and Greek. The Punic characters which Plautus was fond of introducing among his Latin text, and which for generations had puzzled

students of his plays, proved no more potent than the hieroglyphic and cuneiform symbols when time brought forth the intellect destined to conquer them. It is true there remains much ground to be won yet, but long inscriptions are now deciphered with confidence as to their accuracy, and when we come to the results of the excavations in the third Punic Cemetery we shall find how much light such inscriptions are able to throw on the Punic origins of Carthage.

Meanwhile in the older tombs the friends of the bereaved troubled themselves less to write long inscriptions, than to see that the defunct was supplied with a fair number of charms and images to ward off evil spirits, and a good supply of provisions and light to help and sustain him on his dread journey.

We have already noticed a statue of the god Bes with a hieroglyphic inscription of magical value engraved on its back—and it was probable that the reasons which made general the adoption of Egyptian art also influenced the use of hieroglyphic symbols for the purpose of writing.

However, specimens of the Punic character do occur, one instance being the appearance on the handle of an amphora of the potter's mark and his name "Magon," a name which curiously appears very frequently in Greek character ΜΑΓΩΝ on the terra cotta vases and pottery found here. Another is a Punic epitaph graven on bluish stone (saoûn). The text commences with these words, "Tomb of Barmelqart" (perhaps identical with Bodmelqart). Then the name of the defunct is

followed by his genealogy, in which the proper names are accompanied by words (titles or professions), which it was not found possible to decipher. An analogous epitaph came from the tomb of an iron founder named *Akbarim*, the son of *Baâlshillic*.

Neither of them is so long as the one mentioned earlier as coming from the grave of one *Iadmelek*, son of *Padai*, and invoking the strange conjunction of the names Astarte and Pygmalion. This inscription, written in microscopic characters, is pronounced by the learned epigraphist, Mons. Philippe Berger, to be archaic and presenting no trace of the transformation to which the Phœnician alphabet was subjected at the Persian epoch, and that it belonged to the fifth or sixth century B.C. It was in fact not only the first archaic inscription of Africa, but beyond all doubt one of the most ancient Phœnician inscriptions as yet discovered.

Carthage being the point of departure of those great commercial currents which were the outcome of the indefatigable Punic enterprise, it is not surprising to find, even at this early epoch, the presence of art and workmanship hailing from many another Mediterranean seaport, but if they had a preference for one kind of pottery more than another it would seem to have been that which was shipped from the fragrant Isle of Rhodes.

Over and over again, not only on the intact specimens but among the *débris* and on the broken potsherds is met, together with the potter's name, the hall-mark of a rose, the emblem of that isle

which took its name from the number, beauty and fragrance of the roses which its soil produced.

Two broken handles of Rhodian vases, together with the rose, are inscribed as follows :—

The first bears ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ, and the other ΕΠΙ ΔΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ, and a third, composing three lines of characters, of which the last only is completely legible, reads thus :—

ΕΠΙ Λ/////////Α
ΤΟΙ//////////ΕΥΣ
ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΥ

It may not be out of place here to mention an interesting find in Spain communicated to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, of which they give the following notice in the official journal of January 1904 :—

" M. Berger communicates on behalf of the Rev. Père Delattre, a Phœnician inscription from Spain. It was found at Villaricos at the mouth of the river Almanazora to the south of Carthagena, by M. Siret, Directing Engineer of the Iron Mines. Of late years various Punic antiquities have been found in Spain, notably the famous bust from Elche, to-day in the Louvre, *but it is the first time that a Punic inscription has been found there.*

" It is a funereal stela bearing the words, *Tomb of Abdmelgart son of Baâlpillés.*"

Before leaving the cemetery of Douïmes to enter into a description of that known as the Nécropole de St. Louis, we may subjoin here an interesting notice on the auriferous sand of Carthage, which, though it leaves unsolved the enigma which is

propounded, yet opens up an interesting speculation on the subject of the jewellery used by the ancient Carthaginians and found to-day in their tombs. It is a communication from the learned Chaplain of St. Louis, for which the present writer is indebted, being an extract from those of his valuable writings, which are, unfortunately, out of print. He says, "The sand of the sea at Carthage has passed for a long time as auriferous. In 1835 Dureau de la Malle published as an appendix in his *Researches on the Topography of Carthage*, p. 249, a notice by M. Dusgate thus worded:—

"'I will here relate a curious fact, and one of which no traveller to my knowledge has made mention up to the present: the precious metal which the Carthaginians used to search for in the mines of Spain is found mixed with the sand which the tides of the sea heap upon the shores where lies to-day the *débris* of their city. I hold this fact to be of interest as well as a sample of the sand from the late M. Charles Tulin, Swedish Consul, who informed me in a very succinct note, that the port of Carthage, to-day silted up by the sand, was exploited as a gold mine by the inhabitants of the coast. This fact deserved better elucidation, and filled me with a lively wish to obtain more precise details, and I enlisted Mons. Tulin to obtain more exact information from the gold-searching inhabitants of Douar-ech-Chott as to the quantity of gold which the sand supplied and as to the means used among them in order to extract it. His reply left me nothing to desire,

and removed all doubts raised by the brevity of his first comment on this singular deposit. Later on, in 1859, I was able to confer personally with Mons. Bineau during his stay in Paris, where he had come to solicit in the name of the Bey the authorization of the government to have constructed at Toulon a machine for removing this same sand from the entry of the new port of La Goulette. The information which I received from this very able engineer only confirmed that which Mons. Tulin had already supplied, and from which it appeared that the sand deposited along the side of the shore from the mouth of the river Miliana (Oued Miliane) as far as Sidi-Bou-Saïd, is more or less charged with gold, of a sufficiently considerable quantity to have become the object of an exploitation followed by the inhabitants of the coast.'

"Such," says Père Delattre, "is the statement reproduced by Dusgate according to M. Tulin and M. Bineau, the engineer to the Regency. For more than half-a-century the extraction of gold from the sand of the sea at Carthage would appear to have completely ceased, since I cannot gather from the natives anything more than a very vague recollection of the existence of this industry practised at the commencement of the last century and no doubt quickly abandoned. I have, however, myself had the opportunity of proving the existence of a certain quantity of gold in the sand of the sea-shore, and the present note sums up the results of a series of observations made at different intervals during the last few years.

"Every winter when in the rough weather the waves break with violence, stirring and washing up the sand on certain parts of the coast, a sifting takes place which brings to the surface minute particles of gold. I have succeeded in gathering up as much as nineteen or twenty grammes—a sufficient quantity to confirm the reality of the fact which has been stated. The gold is of a very fine yellow. Curious to relate, this gold is not met with in the form of dust, it is, in fact, composed of the minute *débris* of trinkets. The quantity of gold which I have gathered represents nearly three hundred fragments. The scraps which preserve a characteristic form are globules, bits of filigree, twisted fringe, small rosettes, sockets, decorated links, wrought wires, inlaid or open-work pieces, one of these being fashioned in the form of a rectangular cartouche. In all of this there is not the shadow of a grain of natural gold dust. That is not to say that the sand does not actually contain any; but the gold which we have gathered is worked gold. Among these fragments of trinkets we have found little cut stones, principally garnets; I have come across thirty of them, all belonging to dislocated ornaments."

Up till this present moment no light has come to shine upon this discovery revealing the true answer to the riddle why the sea should cast up fragments of jewellery. During the siege of Carthage did they possibly cast their collected treasures into the sea to avoid giving them over to the enemy? or were these treasures carefully hidden in the sands

of the sea-shore in some chest which, once reached by the persistent action of the waves, succumbed at last to their fretting power and yielded the hidden gold and gems to that hungry sea which swallows and keeps its treasures of blood and gold untold, throughout the ages?

PART II

THE NECROPOLIS OF ST. LOUIS

CHAPTER VII

THE discoveries of the Punic necropoleis on the chain of hills rising around the port have considerably modified modern conceptions of the topography of Carthage, while, on the other hand, they accord with the rare documents of antiquity.

Appian relates how in the second Punic war the mob, accusing Hasdrubaâl of treason, and wishing him to be put to death, made in a body for his dwelling, but not meeting with him they ran to the cemetery, where they found only his corpse. Fearing the vengeance of the people, he had put himself to death in his father's tomb where shortly before he had taken refuge. This account seems to prove that the cemetery was near the city, and the fact is further confirmed by other details which Appian gives in his account of this same war. When the envoys from the Roman Senate tried to compel the Carthaginians to abandon their town and build another ten miles from the sea, the latter conjured with tears the Consuls Manilius and Censorius to respect their temples, their gods, and

their tombs. They added that they preferred to die rather than to assist in the ruin of their city.

In this circumstance it seems that the Temples of Carthage could not be destroyed without ruining the cemeteries at the same time. This fact, like the preceding one, would seem to indicate that the cemeteries were near to the city, and that to speak of one as far as the site was concerned was equivalent to speaking of the other. These and other testimonies would seem to indicate—nay, to establish the fact—that all the necropoleis of early Carthage were situated on the hills which extend from St. Louis, or the Byrsa, to the region known as Bord-el-Djedid, while the original city was built near the sea-shore, and near their commercial port at the foot of these above-mentioned hills, from whence it gradually spread upwards to the culminating citadel of the Byrsa.

It is around the port that the architectural fragments of Punic buildings have been found, and the thousands of votive stelæ dedicated to the goddess Tanith and the god Baâl Hammon (examples of these stelæ may be seen in the fine collection brought from Carthage by Dr. Davis and acquired by the British Museum), while, except for the sepulchres, beyond this part of the shore, nothing has been found belonging to the Punic epoch beyond the very rare occurrence of stones used in the construction of posterior buildings, which appear to have once belonged to early constructions.

Archæological excavations, as well as the thousands of holes dug by the Arabs by the sea-

CARTHAGINIAN VASE IN THE FORM OF A DOVE [*See p.* 111.

CARTHAGINIAN GOD IN TERRA COTTA [*See p.* 110.

shore to obtain worked stones for building purposes, point to the conclusion that the primitive city, commencing here and creeping up to the Byrsa, never exceeded the limit thus composed by the heights arranged like an amphitheatre, overlooking the Gulf, crowned no doubt each one with a temple, the hill-sides consecrated to the reception of the dead citizens.

However, when the population increased to such an extent as to exceed the possibilities of accommodation, a series of suburbs developed beyond the city wall, forming an outer belt on the inland side. These suburbs, enclosed within a further wall of fortification, and included under the name of Magalia, formed a second city. Servius draws attention to this double appearance of the town of Carthage, the one part enfolding the other, when he says :—*Carthago antea speciem habuit duplicis oppidi quasi aliud alterum complecteretur, cujus interior pars Byrsa dicebatur exterior Magalia.*

Thus the quarter known as Magalia embraced that of Byrsa as in the emblem of Carthage, the crescent moon, embraced the solar disc. Thus the old city, like many a modern one on the African coast washed by the Mediterranean, was placed at the foot of the hills and near the sea from whence came her wealth, and, by reason of her peculiarly happy position in this Gulf of Tunis, was at once sheltered from the violent and fatiguing winds of the North, and to some extent from the oily, stifling sirocco of the desert.

The Punic cemetery of the name of St. Louis, unearthed on the hill-side known as the Byrsa,

takes its own peculiar interest from the fact that, to some extent, it reveals a period of transition when individual Punic art and inventiveness—always identical, whether in Phœnicia, Cyprus, Sardinia, or Carthage, and always demonstrated in the manipulation of heavy masses, in the indications rather of industry than originality—has escaped from the overshadowing and overpowering influence of Egypt before having arrived at and fallen under in submission to Greek Art.

In fact, it seems very highly probable that the two ends of its period of existence as an employed cemetery overlap the close of the use of that of Douïmes and the commencement of that of Bord-el-Djedid.

As early as 1880, during the construction of certain buildings required in connection with the Cathedral and Convent, in the course of digging the foundations, a very curious Punic tomb was met with on the south-west side of the hill, looking towards Douar-ech-Chott and La Goulette.

This tomb, which on account of its monumental proportions deserves to be called a Mausoleum, was built of large blocks of tufa arranged in layers. As in the tombs on Juno's hill, no mortar or cement had entered into its construction. It was composed of a rectangular chamber, surmounted by a double sloping roof. The first object met with was a Punic collar or necklace, composed of fifty-one beads and seven amulets, some of white and others of green enamel, imitating the Egyptian *faïence*. Among these amulets the *uræus* is met with twice under the form of a viper which, folded back on

itself, puffs up its neck, and stretches out its head. One notices also the *oudjah* or mystic eye of Osiris, and some figurines which in spite of their miniature proportions recall, in their half-squatting attitude, the Colossus of Amanthus preserved in the Imperial Museum of Constantinople. No doubt these are representations of the god Bes, possibly the oldest of all popular grotesques found in connection with ancient sepulture. In this collar, the amulets which depict the god Bes are invariably double-faced.

The tomb enclosed two skeletons reposing in the midst of diverse potteries, lamps, and jars. Twenty-five is the number of terra cottas recovered from this grave, in addition to nine Punic lamps of the primitive type already explained (a disc of clay pinched back in three places to form two beaks), and one of these jars appeared to preserve traces of milk. The liquid in evaporating had left subsisting to the surface a white and fragile encrustation which remained like a spider's web hanging inside the jar, another instance of the custom of placing aliments of various sorts in the tombs of the departed, by those who believed their dead were about to make a long and trying journey, during which they would require physical sustenance.

The skeletons themselves, though at first sight apparently well preserved, became reduced to a humid paste the moment they were touched. They reposed each one of them on two large slabs, which themselves closed two sarcophagi. An interval of a few inches existed between these two stones, and permitted the introduction of the hand and arm,

and a lighted candle introduced into the aperture revealed another skeleton in its primitive position. Nothing further could be done before these flag-stones were first carefully cleared of the deposit of sand which had filtered in and covered over from sight many small objects in bronze, and the rotten remains of wood which seemed to suggest the former presence of a coffin of cedar or cyprus. This accomplished, the slabs which constituted the resting-place for one skeleton and the covering of the tomb of another were then carefully removed. The grave on the left side enclosed a skeleton whose head was turned to the right. The skull appeared to retain sufficient consistence to be recovered and preserved, but the moment it was touched it crumbled to pieces between the fingers. No single object was found accompanying this corpse, and the tomb was closed again in order to open and examine that on the right.

Here likewise the skeleton was found in place, but in such a degree of decomposition that the bones resembled a thin sheet of paper after it had been burned to white ash without losing its form. One touch therefore sufficed to effect its complete destruction.

These two skeletons were found at a depth of some twenty-eight feet below the actual soil of the hill of the Byrsa, but unlike the first, the second one was found accompanied by a Punic lamp, a broken patera, a small bowl of bone, and a copper hatchet razor, all arranged around the upper part of the body, while from the region of the pelvis eight small copper objects composed of a ring and a

DANCING GIRL (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

[*See p.* 126.

biforked plate were recovered, and would seem to have once formed the component parts of a military belt, especially as they were found together with two weapons. The blade of one of these retained traces of the wood of the scabbard which once enclosed it. The form of this weapon resembled that of a poniard or dagger, the other looked like a dart, though possibly this last may have merely served to sharpen the first-mentioned weapon.

Up till this present day, save in the Isle of Cyprus, the Phœnician cemeteries have rarely furnished weapons—a fact noticed by Mons. Perrot, who says that during two years of excavations in the Sidonian Necropolis not one single weapon was met with. Among every other people who were in the habit of depositing similar objects in the tombs, spears and lances, casques and bucklers, are met with at every turn. "This singularity," he says, "can only be explained by the character and habits of the Phœnicians. This race of merchants was not warlike ; they manufactured fine weapons, but it was chiefly for the purpose of exporting and selling them ; for themselves they never used them, save to defend their persons, and never carried them from motives of vanity. It was not at the point of the sword that they conquered those riches, and that power of which they were so proud."

Here, however, we are in the presence of a Punic sepulchre, more ancient than the Byrsa or necropolis itself, and which appears to enclose the remains of one of the first chiefs of the Carthaginian Power,

together with either members of his family or some of his companions in arms. To which age, then, does this tomb belong? Is it not probable that it belongs to that far-removed period when the bold Tyrian merchants came and founded their *Emporium* on this peninsula? It could scarcely have been without difficulty and struggle that these first pioneers of the future Carthage planted themselves in the land. It was no doubt very necessary at times to defend themselves with weapons against the native population when the treasures of their counting-house were threatened.

This tomb was met with by chance, by the Arabs working at the foundations of some modern building. It is to be regretted that before they acquainted the Reverend Chaplain of St. Louis with the find, they commenced destroying it as fast as they could work with their pick-axes to obtain the stones. When he arrived on the scene they had gone a long way towards completing their work of vandalism. Happily he arrived in time to prevent its entire destruction.

These stone searchers have truly the genius for destruction; they cannot look at a few feet of wall without contemplating the immediate profit which they could draw from it by selling the stones to some landowner or builder. For centuries they have fought and quarrelled over the ruins of Carthage, and have succeeded in making them almost entirely disappear.

As far back as the thirteenth century, Edrisi, an Arab historian, relates how, since the downfall of

Carthage until his own times, they had never ceased digging among the ruins down to the foundations for stone, and that there was no sign of discontinuing this destruction while they exported to far-off countries incredible quantities of this material.

CHAPTER VIII

GENOA, Venice, Pisa, Algiers, Constantine and, we may add, Tunis, possess in their finest monuments marbles carried away from the ruins of Carthage.

Thus it is that the walls of fortifications, vestiges of temples and palaces, have disappeared stone by stone. And to-day, as in the days of Edrisi, the Arabs never cease or rest from destroying the ancient remains and monuments covered by the soil.

This practically total destruction of Carthage necessarily adds a very special interest to such rare monuments as are still met with intact.

The archæological world therefore owes its thanks to the late Cardinal Lavigerie, who first awoke to the imperative necessity of an immediate and methodical work of arrestation and investigation into this sorely drained though still richly treasure-laden soil.

When his lamented death arrested the valuable work which he had initiated and to which he had drawn the attention of the learned societies of France—happily for science and for the future—the work, too precious now ever to be abandoned until completed, was taken up with an enthusiastic

zeal joined to a lofty and scholarly spirit by the Reverend Père Delattre, who has so absolutely identified himself with excavated Carthage as to render it as impossible from henceforth to think of the two entities apart as it would seem impossible to dissociate the name of Dr. Schliemann from the ruins of Troy.

He tells how the excavation of the Byrsa was finally accomplished in the face of the many difficulties which would naturally occur in the case of expensive work, taken up in a whole-hearted fashion by a fraternity who, having already renounced all personal worldly possessions, and whose labours are dedicated to the benefit of the sick and suffering, can therefore never possess any means save those which are forthcoming from the outer world wherewith to meet the costly outlay of this work. Following the occasion of the discovery on the Byrsa, he says :—

"For several years the resources which I had to dispose of did not appear to me sufficient to undertake excavations at such a depth, and therefore so costly. I hesitated for a long time in view of the enormous quantity of earth which it would be necessary to remove before obtaining any serious result. I was, besides, drawn towards two other points of ancient Carthage where excavation was easier and discoveries certain, namely, a large Christian Cemetery with its interesting Basilica, and two other large graveyards reserved for slaves and imperial freedmen, so rich in information and enlightenment on the offices of Roman administration in the second century.

"However, from time to time I had a few cubic mètres of earth removed from around the Punic tomb of the Byrsa, as much for the sake of procuring bread for the poor Arabs who solicited work, as for the certainty of coming across in the soil, funereal amphoræ, fragments of fine Greek pottery, and above all those small jars encircled with red lines, having one handle, and on the convexity a conic beak called by the Arabs *bazzuola*, signifying *mamella*, and found usually in the neighbourhood of infants' graves.

"But I could not think how to effect a complete clearing which would permit attaining to the most ancient and likewise the most interesting tombs.

"It was not until 1888 that I was enabled at last to study this Punic Necropolis more seriously. M. le Marquis de Vogüé, Member of the Institute, and author of learned works on the Antiquities of Syria and Palestine, visiting one day the ruins of Carthage and our Museum, was struck with the important results obtained by our first essays and desired to interest himself in our researches. Thanks to a generous offering which he vouchsafed to remit to me for the purpose of contributing to the discovery of Punic monuments I was able to take up again those labours so many times arrested, and push them on as far as the stratum where we should find the Punic tombs."

In 1889 a further financial help was supplied by a Russian tourist, a Monsieur Jacques Rosenberg, and with various intervals of necessitated interruption, the work of excavating the hill of the Byrsa was carried on until 1896.

Meanwhile, in the course of digging into and clearing away the ground for the purposes of discovery, the following diverse remains belonging to widely separated ages were met with and brought to light. The uppermost of these was a Musulman Cemetery of the Middle Ages. A fine example of Byzantine architecture and decoration in the well-preserved remains of a house then came next—in geological order, so to speak—followed by some Roman cisterns, a Roman road, a wall of fortification, a series of apses, of uncertain use, and, finally, below all, the Punic Necropolis.

The Musulman Cemetery consisted of a group of Arab graves about twenty in number, enclosed by walls. But these walls were of a date far anterior to that of the graves, belonging, in fact, to the Byzantine epoch, and to the Byzantine house already mentioned. When the Musulman mourners chose this spot to bury their dead, they found an enclosure already prepared in a half-ruined hall, which in crumbling had partly filled up the walls emerging from the soil. Later on, the falling earth from the hill-side above finished the process by burying both the Arab tombs and the Byzantine house.

These tombs, though simple in form, were of a fine and careful type of work, and one no longer met with in the Regency of Tunis, though examples may still be seen in Turkey and Tripoli. Each of the tombs was composed of a horizontal narrow stone slab, the length of the body which it covered. A second slab of the same length was placed on top of this, but edgewise, enframing

itself in the lower one, its upper edge cut away and narrowed off almost to the thickness of a knife-blade. Some of these tombs were of white marble and better worked than others. In these the base of the upper stone was engraved with several rows of beading and mouldings of even simpler form, but good effect. Among the rest some were of the stone of the country known to the Arabs as *kadd*. They, too, were carefully worked. And the last group were made of shelly tufa borrowed from the ruins of Carthage and executed with less care. The best preserved of these tombs have been transported to the garden Museum of the Convent of St. Louis, that wonderful garden which, like Milan's *Giardino di Marmo*, is planted so profusely with strange and beautiful results in stone of "Man's expression of his delight in the works of God."

Beneath these tombs, as they were found in the ruined Byzantine hall, the corpse lay about four feet below the stone slab, in earth filled with, nay, composed of, *débris*, and just slightly above the mosaic floor with which this room was paved, like the rest of the rooms which have subsequently been completely cleared, revealing them in all their beauty and freshness. We are fortunate in our possession at the British Museum of such perfect examples of sixth-century mosaics from Carthage as are shown on the walls of the staircase —more especially as otherwise Byzantine Carthage is not strongly represented here. We are still more fortunate in knowing that, humanly speaking they are safe and likely to remain unhurt for an

indefinite age, to delight and satisfy the archæological thirst of unborn generations; but, alas! that the same might be said of those exquisite carpets with their delicacy and brilliancy of tint, their "birds and flowers many numbered," which, preserved *in situ* and therefore not under the ever-present care and vigilance of the White Fathers, have already suffered and, one must suppose, will continue to suffer from various destructive forces in the form of tourists, time, tempests and other dangers.

The half-ruined hall in which the Arabs had inhumed their dead formed part of an edifice of somewhat considerable size, whose walls, to about the height of sixteen feet, are still upright. The building was composed like our mediæval manors, of a centre block and two wings enclosing a rectangular court paved with flags which cover a cistern. The great hall, which subsequently became the Arab graveyard, together with another contiguous chamber, is separated from the court by a sort of corridor paved with mosaic and terminated by an apse whose well-preserved vault retains the remains of more mosaic.

In the course of clearing away the *débris* which filled up and encumbered all the space within the walls of this house, evidence of the richness of the house and its owners came to light in the form of fine white marble columns intact with base and capital, columns of onyx, a large quantity of marble plaques of all colours, being the remains of various decorations; discs, too, of porphyry and malachite, and numerous fragments of mosaic

among which the following designs appeared :— The life-sized head of a lady, two theatre masks, a cow's head, the paws and mane of a lion, serpents, fish, and birds, such as plovers, partridges, etc., garlands, baskets of flowers, and series of arcades, etc., etc. In addition, a beautiful head of Minerva in white marble was unearthed, a bronze buckle engraved and bearing a Byzantine monogram, some Jewish lamps and a large number of Christian lamps—one of these has a disc ornamented with the Alpha and Omega, and another bears the image of a small fish, the ἴχθυς of the early Church.

While on the spot here digging our way down through Mediæval, Arab, and Byzantine Carthage, in order to arrive at the Punic forms of sepulture, we may note in passing the finding of an enormous bone over four feet in length, and in form resembling somewhat a shoulder-blade, though more elliptical than triangular. Other large bones came to light from time to time, until the former presence of a whale's skeleton on this spot was proved. It must necessarily have come here, or have been thrown here, either during or after the Musulman destruction of Carthage.

According to St. Augustine,[1] the skeleton of a sea monster was preserved and exhibited at Carthage, and it is *à propos* of Jonah that he cites the fact. Whether this is the actual identical whale cannot be determined, but we may presume that the gigantic skeleton was kept in the Capitol,

[1] In a letter to Deogratias written in 408.

and, therefore, at least very near where the White Fathers met with the above-mentioned bones.

With regard to the subject of Jonah, the boat in which he embarked set sail for Tarshish. It has been thought that this city was situated on the Mediterranean. From among the diverse opinions emitted on this subject, it is interesting to recall that of the Septuagint, of St. Augustine, and of St. Jerome, who believed this city to be no other than Carthage.

This opinion is met with in the Middle Ages in the writings of an Arab geographer, who says that the ancient name of Tunis was Tharchiche. However this may be, the scene of Jonah vomited by the sea monster is frequently met with at Carthage, on the Christian lamps, and in the interior of the country of Tunis, on the terra cotta tiles of which one may see very curious examples in the Museum of St. Louis.

The mention in the seventy-second Psalm of the name of Tarshish coupled with that of "the Isles," is further illuminating on this point, perhaps, when we remember that almost all the chief isles of the Mediterranean had been at some epoch Phœnician possessions and settlements.

In the region of the Roman cistern found below this Byzantine house a coin was met with, which, from its position, appeared to have been designedly placed there by the builders. Belonging to the reign of Tiberius it was struck at Utica under the decemvirate of Lucius Cæcilius Pius. It is therefore reasonable to believe this cistern to belong to the first century of our era.

The traces of a Roman road are next met with, and then the remains of the wall built under Theodosius II. and repaired by Belisarius under the Emperor Justinian.

A curious find comes to light in a series of apses discovered about twelve feet behind the wall of Theodosius. These make up altogether the number of twenty-three, including those which are complete, and the ruined remains of others.

They rest supported by an enormous wall whose construction is surely unique, for it is composed of rows upon rows of large terra cotta amphoræ filled with earth and laid one upon the other. On the necks of these jars the age of the wine they formerly contained is written in red or black ink. The various dates spread over the interval between the years 43 and 15 B.C., and therefore seem to conclusively assign a Roman origin to this construction, these dates being indicated by the names of the Consuls of the particular year in which each amphora was filled.

The use of the apses or the object of their construction remains the subject of divided opinions. Some see in them the "hollow covered walls" of Appian, while others recognize a Pantheon dedicated to all the pagan gods of Carthage, and others again refuse to see in them anything more than ordinary cisterns.

They have, however, no connection with the Punic cemetery below, beyond having served as an accidental protection which has aided the preservation of what would, without these superstructures described, have certainly succumbed,

together with the rest of Punic Carthage, under the relentless destructive forces which have combined in carrying out the Roman edict and wiping the old city from off the face of the earth.

For this reason only, therefore, they deserve mention in a notice set apart purposely for the description of the Punic origins and remains of Carthage.

CHAPTER IX

WHEN this layer of accumulations belonging to such varied periods had been dug through it was found that the actual soil to the depth of nine feet was filled with urns and funereal amphoræ, the one enclosing calcined bones, the others bones showing no trace of cremation.

These amphoræ were of red, and at times of grey, earth, frequently coated on the outside with a layer of yellow. Their form was as nearly as possible that of an ostrich-shell cut through the middle, of which the two parts were joined together again by means of a cylinder of the same diameter. They were devoid of a neck and supplied with two closely-adhering handles. Of those containing the calcined bones one example found enclosed also a necklace which had been burnt with the body. The beads and amulets of this half-melted collar were misshapen and soldered together.

All of these vases, urns and amphoræ had given way under the pressure from above, and were every one of them broken. In those parts of the ground which had received foundations of buildings,

the vases immediately below were completely smashed and flattened.

A fairly typical collection of symbolic emblems was next met with in such diverse forms as a terra cotta fish, an amulet in the form of a triangle surmounted by a bar and a ring—the emblem of the goddess Tanith—two green jasper scarabæi, one of which bears engraved the picture of a Hercules struggling with a lion, and lastly a statuette of the goddess Tanith herself.

This last is nineteen centimètres high and in shape like a mummy. The ears and lips are painted a vivid red, the arms hang at the sides, and the feet, though broken, would appear to have been crossed. While recalling the style of Egyptian figurines, it showed a certain degree of freedom of pose, or liberty, which is lacking in the art of the Nile.

The Museum at Cagliari possesses a similar figurine, reproduced by Mons. Perrot in his History of Art. He gives the following interesting description of it :—

"A type of which, up to the present, Sardinia alone has furnished an example is that represented by a beautiful terra cotta from Tharros. Arrayed in a long robe and Egyptian head-dress, the face appears to have, at the first glance, something of the aspect of a mummy, reminding one of the funereal figurines of Egypt. It is, however, distinct from this in two characteristics. Here the arms, instead of being folded on the breast, fall beside the hips ; the feet are not imprisoned within a sheath which hides the form of the whole of the lower part of the body, but appear below the lower edge of

the robe, and, like that of the arms, their modelling is firm and true ; the face, well framed, is not lacking in a certain elegance. This figurine, for which the artist has been very freely inspired by an oriental type, is certainly one of the best works which can be attributed to Phœnician modellers in clay. These statuettes found in the cemeteries of Phœnician Colonies in Sardinia, have they been brought from the Mother Country, or manufactured in the island itself by artists who had established themselves and opened their studios there ?

"This last hypothesis seems much the most probable ; they commenced, no doubt, in Sardinia, as in Cyprus, by using moulds brought from Phœnicia, and finished by copying on the spot, with a certain freedom, the models which had been created in the Mother Country."

Further on he says :—

"In the Western Colonies certain types in connection with the local cults have been more often reproduced than others, thus, *the divinity holding the disc* appears to have been more popular in the Phœnician colonial world than in the ports of the East."

A grey clay figurine of this goddess, of the last described type, was met with in the soil at present under discussion, namely, the Byrsa, or hill of St. Louis.

The Carthaginians addressed her as the great lady Tanith, the reflection or face of Baâl. It was to her and to Baâl Hammon that they offered the three or four thousand votive stones found in

[*See p.* 139.

MARBLE SARCOPHAGUS OF A CARTHAGINIAN PRIEST (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

Carthage during the last twenty years. All these stelæ, with scarcely any exceptions, bear the same formula.

The following is a translation of the inscription on one of them, chosen from the Museum of St. Louis :—

" To the great Lady Tanith, face of Baâl, and to the Lord Baâl Hammon : Vow made by Hamilcart, son of Abd-el-Melkart, the Suffete, son of Adonibaâl the Suffete."

In these inscriptions, all written in Punic characters, one meets with the well-known names of Annibal (Hannibal), Amilcar (Abd-el-Melkart), Asdrubaâl (Azrubaâl), Hanno, Mago, etc. On several of the stelæ the name of the one who has made the vow is followed by the indication of his profession. The names of traders figure here, and chiefly those of goldsmiths, silver, tin and iron merchants, recalling the verse in Ezekiel xxvii. 12, denouncing the pride of the city of Tyre—

" *Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin and lead, they traded in thy fairs.*"

Or to quote from the Vulgate—

" *Carthaginenses negotiatores tui, a multitudine cunctarum divitiarum, argento, ferro, stanno, plumboque, repleverunt nundinas tuas.*"

While still digging in the region of the amphoræ, before arriving at the actual Punic tombs, many remarkable and characteristic necklaces came to light, one of which is composed of seventy-eight beads and amulets. Bes, the *oudjah*, and the *uræus* almost invariably figure several times among the

collection, and several upright figures are likewise very frequently noticed having either the head of a monkey or a sparrowhawk. Other charms appear only once in the same necklace, such as fishhooks of bronze and ivory, a dolphin, a palm, and a kind of domino pierced with small holes. Small silver rings and copper rings covered with a fine layer of gold are likewise found to constitute the elements of these necklaces, as well as bronze cylinders and long glass beads having somewhat the form and very nearly the colour of cigars, and divers animals. sparrowhawks, crouching lions, etc.

It was especially in this upper layer that the necklaces were found, belonging to those corpses whose bones had been enclosed in an urn or amphora.

One of these amphoræ, cracked all over, had nevertheless resisted the pressure from above sufficiently to make it possible to take note of the disposition of the deceased. It was found to contain the skeleton of a child. The head occupied the base of the amphora, and the feet touched the orifice. It was evident that the vase must have been broken in order to introduce the body, and that the broken parts were afterwards re-united. Behind and around the skull some bronze hoops were recovered, recalling those large metal rings, to simulate earrings, worn by Tunisian Arab women in the country, but which are in reality hung each side of the face by means of a cord passing over the top of the head.

On the breast of this skeleton was found one bead, a silver ring, and several of those amulets

representing either the Mystic Eye of Osiris or the god Bes. But at times the chief amulet of the necklace was a little bell, sometimes of bronze and occasionally of gold.

One of these amphoræ was found lying horizontally in the soil; the bottom, broken to facilitate the introduction of a child's body, was afterwards closed by the help of stones. Near the head some collar beads were recovered, and next the feet two small vases had been placed. One of these was that peculiar type already referred to, called by the Arabs "bazzuola," with a conic beak on the convexity, a type which, though employed by them to-day for ordinary domestic uses, was in all probability originally intended to serve as a feeding-bottle for the little dead children in their tombs; a pathetic substitute for the mother who could not accompany them on the dread unknown journey. This at least is the solution which suggests itself in the presence of those curious jars invariably found accompanied by the skeleton of an infant, and never met with in those larger tombs below.

These amphoræ, which enclose simply calcined bones, are in many respects analogous to certain archaic ceramics coming from Cyprus and Rhodes, and the discovery of this very considerable number of urns indicates that at a certain epoch the Carthaginians, imitating the Greeks, adopted the practice of cremation. There is the testimony, too, of Justin, who relates how Darius sent an embassy to the Carthaginians praying them not to eat the flesh of dogs nor to burn their dead, and we do not forget that Virgil makes Dido perish on her

funeral pyre. In 1861 a tomb was found at Sidon enclosing the cremated bones and ashes, and a certain number of similar instances have been met with even in the case of Hebrew tombs.

Finally, however, after much digging, the pick-axe struck the upper extremity of a real sepulchre.

At first nothing but the points of the two large abutting stones was revealed. They were enough, however, to indicate what was coming, owing to that unvarying peculiarity in the mode of construction met with in these early tombs. Two cells of graves were dug or built in the soil and were then covered with four large slabs or flagstones, surrounded by four solid walls, which were then roofed in by means of two enormous stones leaning to or abutting on to each other, thus leaving an upper portion of the tomb between the apse and the upper stones of the two graves. In this upper story an uncoffined skeleton was occasionally found in addition to those below—while at other times, this portion merely enclosed some of the charms, such as necklaces, placed there for the spiritual protection of the corpse. This upper portion may be compared in form and dimensions to the small tents used by soldiers while campaigning. This first tomb was completely empty in its upper tent-like portion.

An amusing incident associated with this discovery is related by Père Delattre.

It being necessary to remove with great care some huge slabs to make an entry into the tomb, this operation was confided to one of the Arab workmen well known to the Fathers. Especially

devoted to them, this man never wearied in relating the kind acts of which he had been the recipient from the hands of the late Cardinal Lavigerie, nor to recall the remembrance of those missionaries whom he had known personally during their stay in Carthage, mentioning them by name, though at the same time murdering with his pronunciation the very names which were so dear to him.

"We were very low down below the surface of the hill," says Père Delattre, "when I said to our Hadj-Aly, 'You see this stone; you must clear it right away, and when it is moved you will find underneath a niche filled with vases of different sizes. Don't touch anything, but come at once and tell me.'

"Hadj-Aly looked at the Father with astonished air, but, full of confidence, took his pick-axe and set to work, while the Reverend Father left him and went away back to the Convent. But half-an-hour had scarcely passed when he heard loud peals of laughter echoing through the cloisters. It was Hadj-Aly, who had arrived quite out of breath to tell what had happened, and quite unable to contain his surprise at having found at a certain depth exactly those things which he had already been told to expect. As the Father went back to the tomb Hadj-Aly accompanied him, saying with emotion, 'Oh Father, thou knowest everything; there is not a single spot in Carthage where thou canst not say, "On digging here, such and such a thing will be found," and, besides, thou knowest how to read the books which reveal the things under the earth.' And when the Father told him that

the books had absolutely nothing to do with the discovery which he had predicted, he started laughing again in a peculiar way which showed plainly that he did not believe this, and replied, 'I once saw in your room a large number of books; what is the use of so much writing if it doesn't tell you what is under the earth?'"

CHAPTER X

THE potteries taken from the niche at the head of the skeleton comprised a large vase in the form of a cylinder resting on an inverted cone, with two small side handles and terminated at the top by a very slightly conic disc, two small short-necked jars, a patera of reddish earth, and two small phials with one handle.

Two skeletons were here, each in an identical position, lying on the top of the stone graves below and covered with the usual shreds of rotten cedar wood. Beneath these shreds a series of vases was revealed, arranged the whole length of the body, and almost all of them upset. One only at the bottom was still upright. From beneath the crumbling remains of the skull a little hatchet razor was taken. As has been mentioned, these votive hatchets had already been met with both in the graves of Douïmes and the upper layer of earth containing the funereal urns over above these Punic tombs at present under discussion. A curious bronze object in the form of a T, and terminated by a ring, was also found here, but this was by no means the first time such a find occurred. Finally, near the left foot was a Punic lamp and its patera,

the former upset and showing signs of having only once been used.

Except that these crumbling bones were of a yellowish tint, there is nothing further to note with regard to this skeleton; while that reposing at the side of the first was of a deep brown hue. Its condition, as well as the objects accompanying it, appeared to be identical with that of the first, except that three lamps in this case were discovered, one in the niche above its head, one near the left shoulder, and one between the two femurs, upset and covered with its patera; evidently this last had been placed originally on the knees of the corpse. The lamp was unblackened and the wick preserved. Some of the large vases disposed around these skeletons retained deposits of the liquids which once filled them.

The heavy stones which covered the graves below necessitated the employing of a lever in their removal, and within the grave here once more a yellow skeleton was met with. The skeleton was in sufficiently good condition to render it worth while to give it a coating of spermaceti towards its further preservation. It was unaccompanied by either bronze work or pottery, and the same absence of accompaniments characterized the second skeleton, with the exception of a bronze buckle in the form of a Y.

In 1889 a monolithic sarcophagus of shelly tufa was found close to the warrior's tomb already described as being found in 1880. The right hand was placed on the thigh, the left on the hip. Contrary to expectation, no single example of

[*See p.* 144.

TERRA-COTTA FIGURE (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

pottery was found in this coffin ; nothing, in fact, but a very oxidized bronze pin beneath the left shoulder-blade, which no doubt had served to fasten a garment. However, on continuing the excavation, four vases were at length found outside the sarcophagus. Their heavy form of coarse undecorated clay placed them among the class of the most primitive pottery.

It was in the region of these tombs, in the course of digging for others, that the best examples were found of those most curious masks, composed of a moon-shaped cutting from an ostrich's eggshell, painted partly and partly engraved with human features, in red, white and black, of the most rude and primitive kind ; surely an instance of the very earliest style of painting among the Phœnicians.

The same types of workmanship already described as shown in the innumerable votive offerings continued to reveal themselves in numbers, both in and around the tombs of this region. We may notice, in passing, the occurrence of bronze castanets, instruments whose use, so strongly implanted in Spain to-day, may possibly be the result not of the Moorish occupation of nearer times, but of that far distant Phœnician colonization which occupied the larger southern half of the Peninsula.

Also the earrings have a peculiar interest of their own. The ring or hook which enters the lobe of the ear is further decorated by a T joined on to the base, and thus the Egyptian cross or tau is formed. There is strong reason to suppose that this was the form of those earrings which in the time of Moses the Israelitish women wore, copying

their Egyptian neighbours, and it was such rings as these fashioned in gold that contributed towards the shaping of the Golden Calf.

Similar earrings both in silver and gold have been found in Sardinia, and are to be seen in the very valuable collection at Cagliari. They have not, however, up to the present been discovered in any other region of Phœnician remains. That the piercing of the ear was a ceremony of mystic importance is probable, and the operation, still performed to-day in parts of France by the *Sage Femme*, was no doubt as much associated with magic ritual as the process of shaving. One of the ceramics coming from the third important Punic cemetery bears an interesting picture of a lady's toilette, depicting the crucial moment when the slave maid—or was it the *Sage Femme ?*—was about to subject her mistress to the painful operation of having her earring inserted.

A magnificent bronze vase which we have to notice here is unique of its kind. It stands thirty-two centimètres high, was originally gilded, and is strikingly graceful in shape.

The handle, rising beyond the height of the beak, describes an elegant curve. The points of attachment of this handle are curious. The extremity which joins the top of the vase inside the neck is decorated with a calf's head surmounted by a globe between two *uræi*, and the other extremity joining the convexity of the vase is terminated by a palm identical to that which decorated the handles of the colossal vase from Amathus at present in the Louvre. These palm-like terminations appear to

have been very popular with Phœnician goldsmiths and workers in bronze.

The interior of this vase enclosed a somewhat thick layer of red matter resembling clay.

The somewhat unusual find of a basket has next to be recorded. At first it was mistaken for a piece of coarse canvas, or some such material, distinctly blackened for some unknown reason. It is finely plaited in rushes and might well be a duplicate of that made for the little Moses. Completely flattened and sunken within itself in undulating folds, it proved to be lined within with a leather hide, extremely thin and devoid of consistence. When lifting it gently up, there slipped from its folds a mirror, a hatchet, two long handles of unequal size, preserving the attached remains of wood, three round beads and a double-faced amulet of Egyptian paste.

The mirror was a circular brass plaque, and, unlike the Roman mirrors of the same metal found at Carthage, it had no handle, but was simply furnished with a small appendix pierced with a hole which permitted it to be hung by the aid of a cord.

The Arab countrywomen of Tunis of the present day carry a circular glass, fastened to their clothing, on their chests. Possibly this mirror may serve to give an idea of those in use among the Israelitish women in the time of Moses; those, in fact, who, as it is recorded in Exodus, assembled at the door of the Tabernacle and offered their mirrors to make a brass basin.

The amulet was a small rectangular tablet of

Egyptian paste bearing on one side the *oudjah* or Mystic Eye of Osiris, and on the other a cow suckling her calf, which, symbolizing Isis suckling Horus, was a subject not only greatly in favour in Egypt, but also in Sardinia, an island which, more than all the other isles of the Mediterranean, has kept strong traces of its Phœnician character, not only in the rich store of archæological remains revealed by its soil, but also perhaps in the curious speech of to-day, that strange Sardo of the peasants, which is almost as far removed from the Italian as the Basque tongue is removed from the French, or the Gaelic from the English.

In 1890 the work of excavation in the Byrsa region was taken up again after an interval of a year or so. This time it was Cardinal Lavigerie who financed the undertaking, with the assistance of a generous French family named Couvreux-Decauville.

The practice of digging downwards to arrive at the tombs was abandoned, and, instead, a trench was made at the side of the hill, and then an escarpment, so as to reach the entrance of the sepulchres from their own level. A great hindrance was met with in the shape of an enormous wall of a later age, possibly Byzantine, whose thickness and solidity rendered it a truly formidable obstacle.

Once in the region of the bed rock clay, they met with one of those primitive Punic tombs similar to the examples found in the soil of Douïmes, with practically the same accompaniments, jars, necklace, amulets, etc., with representations of Bes, *urœus*, crouching lion, etc.

[*See p.* 160.

ENGRAVED PUNIC RAZORS (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

Thus the hill of the Byrsa had revealed so far this fact, that it had unquestionably been employed as a site of burial for the inhabitants of Carthage for a considerably lengthy period, and had not only contained the most primitive style of inhumation, but had likewise filled up the gap of that transitional epoch when Punic Carthage had practically abandoned its Egyptian tendencies, without having wholly adopted that Greek character which was to introduce itself later into Punic art and manners.

However, immediately after the simple grave a typical stone tomb was found, to be followed by many more furnishing matter for enlightenment on the subject of this curious change and development, and transition from one period to another. There certainly is no hard line of demarcation indicated anywhere.

In 1890 the first stone tomb discovered was no longer like the earlier types, the merely simple graves dug in the ultimate clay below the accumulated soil, but proved to be, on the contrary, a monumental subterranean chamber closed by a fine great stone of the native tufa, exactly two mètres high placed upright, forming a door, and reminding one of the tombs of the Holy Scriptures. A second stone had been abutted on to this to keep it in place, and during about twenty-five centuries nothing had moved.

Two sarcophagi were here, closed by four large flagstones, while to the left lay a skeleton, its feet turned towards the entrance. This skeleton appeared to hold the position of an outsider of some

sort, since it did not share with the others the dignity of a stone sarcophagus. On the right and left, the whole length of the body, was a slight deposit of greenish matter, the remains probably of a shroud or garment of some sort.

Here the absence of a coffin is remarked as in Douïmes, though the presence of fragments of rotten cedar-wood sprinkled over the skeleton raises the debatable question as to whether the wood was originally employed in shreds as a preservative from decay, or whether these shreds represent the crumbled remains of a decomposed coffin. A strip of bronze twice encircling one of the fragments of rotten wood may have been the remains of a coffin handle, but this is problematical.

As has been said, it was the first tomb opened on this site, and it revealed a whitish earthen jar with conic base unlike any as yet met with in Punic tombs. Here at once was a departure from curious and typical amphoræ with stems noticed in the earlier cemetery.

At the extremity of this cell immediately under the ceiling two square niches enclosed each one two jars which took up all their breadth and height. At the edge of the left niche was found in addition a dish filled with bones.

The upper part of the cell had been plastered with whitewash or stucco, and an instance of the care with which they strove to hermetically seal the tomb was seen in a lump of this plaster which lay upon the floor, immediately under the cavity in the ceiling from which it had dropped, after having been placed there to stop up the gap. It had been

applied with the hand and preserved the marks of the fingers of the workman. A little ivory or bone box was found here with a circular rim ; the inside was coloured with bright red, no doubt on account of its having contained vermilion, a substance met with somewhat frequently in the Punic tombs.

But the whole of it at the first contact fell into dust. A bronze mirror, oxidized to a brilliant green, was also recovered from among the heap of rotten shreds of wood, and a bronze hatchet razor. Likewise there were three amulets, one a figure of Bes, another the head of a dog, and a third the head of a sparrowhawk.

Of the skeletons contained in the sarcophagi, that on the left appeared to have, so to speak, scattered its bones somewhat in disorder. The vertebral column was curved and the ribs were distributed in a singular fashion. One of them had slipped away from the rest and fallen against the west wall of the grave. The first idea naturally to seize the imagination was that the poor creature must originally have been prematurely interred. However, the peculiarity of the position of the bones may be possibly accounted for by the fact of the corpse having been laid in his tomb on his side instead of, as more usually occurs, on his back.

After the decomposition of the muscles, the dislocation of the bones would result in the ribs, instead of falling one after the other each side of the vertebral column, slipping one on the top of the other.

The second skeleton was completely reduced to a crumbled mass, forming together with the rotten

wood a striated heap of brown and yellow, green and white, covering the bottom of the grave. From where the left hand had been, six little hollow silver cylinders were recovered, being the remains of a bracelet.

CHAPTER XI

It was not until the third tomb was opened that the first coin was met with, which though very much oxidized was easily recognizable as a Punic piece, and again for the first time there appeared the presence of little terra-cotta objects known till lately by the name of *lachrymatories*, which were destined, in the course of these excavations, to reveal themselves in hundreds. They were encircled with brown painted lines, a form of decoration to which the unimaginative Carthaginian potter seems to have been particularly addicted. They must have been thrown into the grave during the course of the interment, for the major part were found on the surface and usually broken. A small double-spouted jar of fine red earth, unvarnished, but red inside and black outside, contrasting as it does with the other types of pottery found in this tomb, would seem to suggest here what is noticed in other instances in this cemetery—that the tomb must have been made use of at separate intervals of time.

The fourth tomb opened was one extraordinarily rich in worldly possessions—their inventory is well worth consideration and contemplation. Gold,

silver, bronze, glass, ivory, ceramic, etc., are well represented.

Gold.—Diadem frontal, a band, thirty-six centimètres in length, placed at each extremity, with little holes permitting the introduction of a thread to fix it.

Earring in the form of a ring or rather a hook, terminating in the form of a T, making together the Egyptian Tau.

Silver.—A simple ring.

A figurine representing a man upright in an erect attitude, the left leg advanced, the arms hanging close to the sides ; the face appears to be bearded.

A spherical bead, pierced for threading.

A small tablet with rectangular base, but with rounded upper corners and adorned with a ram's head, being an amulet.

Bronze.—Two discs supplied with a ring in the centre. The sides opposite to the rings are slightly concave. These objects were used as cymbals or castanets, being of Egyptian or Assyrian origin.

Ivory.—A rectangular tablet whose front is engraved with lines which have partly become effaced, but which permit the recognition of an Assyrian taste in this handiwork.

According to Mons. G. Perrot, these ivory plaques were one of the principal articles of exportation from Tyre, Sidon and Carthage.

It is to be regretted that the rich results of these excavations were as yet unrevealed and belonging to the then unborn future when his notice of

[*See p.* 165.

ENGRAVED PUNIC RAZOR
(*Bord-el-Diedid*)

[*See p.* 165

ENGRAVED PUNIC RAZOR
(*Bord-el-Djedid*)

Carthage was written, otherwise we might have received from the same pen which wrote so charmingly and exhaustively of Phœnicia proper and the Isles, a rich and valuable record of that which lies to our hands to-day accomplished for us by the skill, experience and unwearying pains of the White Fathers of Carthage.

Two large ivory pin-heads were also found.

Shells.—A bivalvular shell (pecten). The two valves are held together at their points of meeting by a bronze wire forming a double hinge, making a sort of box of the shell, and a little ring is fixed into the centre of the upper half.

Upwards of twenty fragments of ostrich egg-shell. One of them is decorated with a drawing composed of red squares forming a draught-board pattern.

Several other fragments likewise preserve traces of paintings in vermilion. These eggshells must have been used as recipients. One of the fragments proves that the rim of these cups or vases was scalloped or dented.

Glass, etc.—A necklace ; except for a few bronze and agate beads, all the rest which composed the necklace were of glass, among which were found four scarabæi, several representations of the god Bes, six figurines of black glass, four masks, a winged face of a man, the head of a monkey, a cow, a *uræus*, a lotus flower, two *unguentaria*, etc., etc.

As for the scarabæi, two are of green and two of blue glass, and it is evident that they have been moulded—not carved or engraved.

Several thousand small loose beads next come into the list, red, white, yellow, orange, green, brown, and black, of the size of those which children amuse themselves by threading.

Ceramics.—A grey earthen jar with hemispherical cover decorated with a horizontal black band between two red lines. At the bottom of the jar, lying among some black and brown matter, was found the golden diadem already described, together with some beads, some teeth and human bones.

Two fine globular vases with stems of beautiful red earth—probably censers.

Two cylinders of red earth, open at the base and orifice and serving to support vases.

A red earthen goblet encircled with black lines.

A patera, black, with orange red edges pierced with two holes made before baking, indicating perhaps a votive distination.

A grey earthen jar decorated with a red band and narrower lines of black.

Three double-handled cups, wide and short, black, and varnished on the handles, and decorated outwardly with black bands on a pale red ground. Each one differs from the other in height. In the largest was found the ivory plaque and the thousands of little beads.

A small single-handled vase of black earth elegant in form, like the pottery of Cumæ.

A small Corinthian *oinochoë* or jug with hemispheric convexity, very short neck, and orifice slightly pinched to form a spout. The handle rises above the orifice, describing a very elegant curve.

The convexity is encircled with lines, some white and some of a sombre colour. Below the handle it is decorated with a frieze of animals with very elongated bodies.

Common Potteries.—Among the six examples of common pottery found was a red earthen double-handled vase with conic base, cylindrical form, mushroom-like summit.

The invariable presence of the Punic lamp and its patera was not lacking in this instance.

Alabaster.—Finally, this tomb produced an alabastrum, nineteen centimètres high. The alabaster from which it was made had not been polished.

In order to scatter the perfume the neck of the bottle had been broken, a detail met with several times in these investigations, and one recalling the scene in the house of Simon the Leper.

It is interesting to learn that on the very same day this tomb was opened, October 4, 1890, there was discovered in Malta at Notabile a rich Punic tomb formed of two cells hollowed in the rock. The contents were composed of several large vases, lamps of Punic form, *unguentariæ*, *pateræ* and several trinkets. A golden clasp worked in *repoussé* bore the Phœnician palm between two animals facing. These treasures are to be seen to-day in the Museum at Valetta.

Few of the tombs however found, together with the above-quoted Carthaginian example, can boast of anything approaching the richness and variety it showed in the manner in which it was stocked.

The distinction to be noticed between these tombs found in the lowest stratum and those which

followed after in the course of continuing the excavations during 1892 and 1893, is that the earlier ones contained no traces of mortar, nor inscriptions, nor coins, nor Greek vases.

A common grave, however, containing the remains of some hundreds of Carthaginians, furnished almost as many coins as it yielded skeletons. Whether these crowded skeletons represented the period of some dreadful visitation of sickness, such as that plague which swept over Carthage in the time of St. Louis, cannot be determined.

Among the mixed remains of Roman walls and heavy masses of masonry, appeared a kind of obelisk in tufa, upright, and apparently in its original position. There was little doubt that this monolith, appearing as it did in the midst of a burial ground, could be anything but a funeral stela, and that it marked the spot of some tomb whose occupant was at least a not unimportant person.

The trunk pyramidal and the base cubic in form, this is but one example of many such funeral stelæ found in other burial areas; and the model of miniature copies in soft white stone found in the tombs, their use having been that of vessels for burning purfumes.

The tomb over which this obelisk was placed was another instance of the heavy solid style which characterized the true Punic masonry.

In an upright position, against the huge block of stone which closed the entrance, was found a long funeral amphora, cylindrical in form, with conic base, devoid of neck, but supplied with two small handles. The weight of the soil had quite cracked

it, and in the attempt to remove it, it fell to pieces, leaving its contents to escape. These were composed, in the upper part, of the bones of an adult and those of a child, showing no trace whatever of cremation, while at the bottom of the jar were the calcined remains of another child accompanied by a drinking vessel, a pot blackened by the action of fire, and a silver ring. This was almost always the way in which the ancient Carthaginians buried their children and furnished their last abode. Near this was found the *débris* of a broken though fine Greek vase.

The tomb itself, however, proved to have been violated long before. Indeed, the amphora placed at the entrance proves that it was as far back as the time of the Carthaginians, and the instances of this horrible form of theft have been proved against them again and again.

It enclosed two sarcophagi, of which the two covering slabs remained in place only on one, the second sarcophagus being covered only with one slab, while its companion lay on the ground. Evidence was here that the tomb had been rifled in haste, and the remaining parts of the broken Greek vase met with outside were found here within the tomb. This last was found half filled with earth, and yielded to the searchers the following remains—a patera, two bronze hatchets, a bronze handle, a small red earthen jar, a small ivory grotesque, the size of a button, a fragment of very fine yellow sulphur, and several fragments of a large vase.

But it was not in these large stone sepulchres that

the most interesting finds were exclusively discovered. In the simple graves, dug in the clay, surrounding the more pretentious tombs, necklaces and objects of adornment have been met with which were composed of two hundred separate parts, glass beads and amulets of all descriptions.

Among these last may be quoted an ivory hand, a ram's head apparently carved from a piece of lava, two discs surmounted by the crescent, the horns abased, the most popular emblem of Carthage, two crouching lions with hieroglyphic signs, two *uræi*, one of which preserved the silver wire which served to suspend it, two crocodiles, three sparrow-hawks, six elephants or hippopotami, six shells, four cones, eight scarabæi, of which six have hieroglyphic subjects engraved on their surface, eight cylinders, eleven heads of monsters, which at first sight might be taken for frogs or toads, twenty-one divinities, such as Bes, Phthah, Anubis, Osiris, Isis, etc., and finally, two masks surmounted with the crescents with horns elevated as on the head of Isis-Hathor. One is reminded by these horned masks of Baâl Kornain, who was worshipped opposite Carthage on the summit of the Bou-Khornine or two-horned mountain, which of late years has yielded so many votive stelæ dedicated to Saturn, surnamed *Balcaranensis*, or in other words *Horned Baâl.*

CHAPTER XII

ANOTHER grave of the simplest description yielded interesting points in the red-brown tint of the inner side of those slabs with which it was closed. They had the appearance of having been thus coloured, or rather discoloured, with blood.

In the earth with which this grave was filled, an animal's rib was found, and at the foot of the skeleton, a patera containing the usual double-beaked lamp, blackened with use, a bronze hatchet razor, and on one of the hand bones a bronze ring was found encircling the finger.

Thus the Punic Necropolis of the Byrsa reveals three distinct forms of burial, which are in many instances so mixed together in the closest vicinity as to leave little doubt that at any rate for some certain fixed period they were practised together. These were represented by the simple graves dug in the primitive clay and covered with unworked slabs of tufa ; the massive stone tombs, sometimes of sufficient size to deserve the name of mausoleum, and in every case characterized by the most solid style of masonry ; and thirdly and lastly, the strange forms of infant burial, in which the corpse was inserted into an urn, amphora, or jar, which usually

had to be broken first to admit of its entrance, and then joined together again, and which, found usually in a horizontal position in the earth, almost without exception contained the three unvarying accompaniments of a drinking vessel or *bazzuola*, whose form suggests its use as an infant's feeding bottle, an earthen cooking pot blackened beneath by the action of fire, and a small silver ring.

In among these fundamental types are found, in sparse numbers it is true, instances of cremation, but it was not until the upper layer of mortality was committed to the dust in the all-pervading urns, that cremation had established itself in Carthage in any sort of degree of regularity and permanency.

In the later cemetery of Bord-el-Djedid it appears to have been practised interchangeably with inhumation, and the very definite and interesting reason for this will be dealt with in the course of describing that Necropolis which, with its inscriptions and richer share of spoils, is perhaps more enlightening in its revelations of the individual characteristic of its citizens, whose long sojourn in this City of the Dead has by no means effected an effacement of personal identity.

Here at least is some revenge for their total effacement as a nation; the very destroying force which wiped their city from off the face of the earth, in so doing, and by the very same means, effected the most admirable preservation of perhaps the most instructive section of the corporate whole.

That the Punic tombs should be preserved unviolated until the age and epoch most cultured and

fitted to appreciate them, could scarcely have entered into the calculations of the brutal destroyers of ancient Carthage.

Finally there remains to be described a common grave, an unusual occurrence, containing the remains of forty Carthaginians. Two hypotheses present themselves. An epidemic may have been the cause of this mixed burial, or, as seems more probable in view of the variety and diversity in type of the objects contained in this tomb, it may have been utilized possibly at different epochs.

A large quantity of coins yielded themselves in various stages of preservation or corrosion. As for the pottery, the greater part was broken. However, there still remained in good condition four Punic lamps, two extremely small Greek lamps, eight dishes with handles, five *bazzuoli*, ten single-handled jars, five small cooking pots, upwards of fifty terra cotta lachrymatories or *unguentaria*, four black earthen pateræ of Grecian fabric—one a fine example decorated on the interior with tragic masks raised in relief and arranged in a circle—and finally four large double-handled vases.

Bronze was here represented in the forms of a ring, a nail, a hatchet, four coffin handles and a mirror, and other miscellaneous objects came to light in the shape of an iron ring with an agate bezel, a shell, a terra cotta sling ball, a small hand in bone or ivory, the stone cover of a small sarcophagus, three blue glass beads and fifty-four bronze coins. One of these coins found placed on the face of the corpse had given a green tinge to the skull as a result of its oxidation.

Though a common grave was not a common find in the Necropoleis, the above-mentioned example was not the only one met with. The corpses were found ranged one above the other, as many as four or five skulls deep. The skeletons, together with the clay among which they are compacted, form definite strata, and are so closely adhesive as to render it impossible to remove the one from the other without breaking the bones absolutely to pieces.

A fragment of a stele from Tello, reproduced by Mons. Perrot, represents a scene of the inhumation of a number of corpses in a common grave, similar to that found at Carthage; but in the Chaldæan bas-relief the corpses are arranged sardine-wise, the feet of one side by side with the head of another in alternate lines, whilst in the Byrsa grave all the corpses have been placed in the same position with the head always pointing towards the centre of the hill.

It is, however, probable that though buried in the same grave these corpses were not all buried at the same time. Indeed a very considerable period would seem to have elapsed between the depositing of the first skeleton and the last, judging by the diverse types of pottery found and the variety of coins; this last, the infallible test of time limit in the assignment of dates.

The typical Carthaginian coin is a bronze, with the Phœnician horse and the sacred symbols of the solar disc enclosed either by the crescent moon or by the double *urœus* whose inflated heads are possibly closer in resemblance to the leaves of the mistletoe than are the horns of the crescent.

The reverse bears the pleasing classic head of Astarte, the artistic emanation of a Greek taste, and the product of Sicily, where from the fifth century B.C. onwards, Carthage, it is believed, was wont to have her coins struck.

The form of the horse varies; sometimes it is a head only, sometimes a whole animal in a quiet pose; again at times it is depicted galloping and occasionally winged like its Assyrian prototype.

Many, of course, are utterly illegible and stuck together in a green lump bythe process of oxidation, but there are again other examples preserved in practically a perfect condition.

Another coin bearing the head of Libya is surrounded by the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕ-ΜΑΙΟΥ, while the reverse bears the crowned head of Ptolemy.

This was Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, to whom we owe the Greek translation of the Bible known as the Septuagint, since, at the suggestion of his Alexandrian Librarian, he consented to send an embassy to the High Priest at Jerusalem praying that six ancient, worthy and learned men from each of the twelve tribes might be sent to translate the law for him at Alexandria. His reign was from 285 to 247 B.C.

Another coin found in this common grave has a fine head of Ares crowned with laurels and turned to the right, with the word ΑΡΕΟΣ with an eagle on the reverse and the inscription ΜΑΜΕΡΤΙΝΩΝ. This coin therefore belongs to the money of the Mamertines of Sicily, who were the first to call the Romans to their aid against the Carthaginians, and

this became, in 264, the cause of the first Punic war, which lasted twenty-two years.

A very curious statue came to light from this Necropolis. It was of brick-red terra cotta, and open at the bottom, it was found to be completely hollow. It apparently represents the goddess Tanith seated and wearing on the head a high crown widening towards the top, shaped somewhat like a bushel measure or a basket. The ears have earrings and the chest is covered with a pectoral or double necklace. The robe, folded in large festoons below the knees, develops around the bust and shoulders in the form of a disc or shell in such a manner as to reveal the upper part of the body while completely hiding the arms. In ancient Carthage the statue of the goddess Tanith was draped in a sumptuous mantle acquired by the citizens at the price of one hundred and twenty talents. Apparently it was square in shape, purple-red in colour, and adorned with artistic embroideries. In the centre were the heads of the principal deities of Greece; above a group of the animals sacred to the Susians, and below those of the Persians, while in the corners were other figures, among which was the portrait of Alcisthenes, the rich Sybarite for whose personal use this marvellous drapery had been executed. Alcisthenes parted with it to Denis the Elder, who sold it again to the Carthaginians towards the commencement of the fourth century B.C. On account of its price, rarity, and beauty, the Carthaginians attached to this veil a superstitious influence. For a long time the peplos of Tanith

was regarded as the sovereign *palladium* of the city.

On seeing the curious and elaborated drapery of the little terra cotta, one wonders whether perhaps the sculpture is intended to represent this rich garment.

It will be remembered that the dove is very peculiarly an emblem of Astarte—and though representations of this bird are rare in the earlier tombs, it will be interesting to note that a white earthen bottle or jug was found having the life-sized form of a dove, with an arched handle which reached from the tail to the neck, which it joined. The liquid was poured in at an opening of funnel shape on the tail, and poured out again from the bird's beak.

The foregoing comparative description of the two Necropoleis of Douïmes and the Byrsa will suffice to show the reasons on which are founded the conclusions as touching their respective ages. While Douïmes preserves a uniformly simple character in the mode of sepulture—a mode so simple as almost to resemble the types known as pre-historic—the second region of tombs found in the hill where the Cathedral and Convent stand, gives a very clear demonstration in its stratified arrangement of changing and transitory forms (simple graves, mausoleums, stone tombs, common graves, amphoras, urns and little stone coffers), its inhumation and its cremation, that a very wide period was covered by the time taken to deposit all these varying and evolving methods in their respective layers within the soil beneath the Acropolis.

It likewise shows the two great influences by

which Phœnician art and indeed Phœnician worship came to be dominated, as well as that transitional period when, in an interval of respite, Punic Carthage tried to assert herself and satisfy herself with the artistic types evolved from her own conceptions. Some of these types she was always true to, and among these may be placed in the front rank as real specimens of her own inventive art her Punic lamp, formed from a disc of clay pinched back in three places to form two beaks; her curious amphoræ with stems instead of the usual base in the shape of an inverted cone, found chiefly in the third Necropolis; and lastly and most chiefly in her very curious and interesting bronze and copper Punic hatchet razors with their beautiful and delicate inscription of Egyptian forms and scenes, and their pleasing slender shape terminating in the head and neck of a swan.

It is not quite certain which was the epoch when coins were first actually introduced: their presence is not very far removed from the presence of cremation; but it is probable that cremation was entirely a Greek importation, and that the practice of depositing coins with the dead was certainly an earlier if not a much earlier habit.

Coming thus between the Egyptian period on the one hand and the Greek on the other, this area enclosed perhaps a summing up of what may be looked upon as a more purely and individually Punic epoch than either of the other two cemeteries, the one preceding and the other following it in the course of time.

We do not know yet, nor can we quite satisfac-

[*See p.* 167.

GREEK AND ETRUSCAN POTTERY (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

torily guess the reason for that strong Egyptian colouring which was shed upon the earliest Carthage and which evidently permeated her daily life. Possibly commerce may have originated this adoption, or shall we call it embracing, of the spirit of the Nile in art and worship—but the truth will suffer less perhaps from being left in abeyance than from an undue straining after an answer to the riddle before such time as the true Œdipus arrives, when the Sphinx will no doubt prove powerless to retain her secret.

The excavations, still in progress, will undoubtedly yield a similar proportion of information and material in the future as they have hitherto done in the past, and will continue to take their part in the building up of a perfect whole, and in the telling of the story of Punic Carthage in the light of modern research.

We have now to leave the Cathedral Hill, the site of the ancient Acropolis, and the spot where St. Louis died, having acquainted ourselves sufficiently with typical examples of the mode of burial in the middle period of Punic Carthaginian history.

The third Necropolis to be investigated enters upon a new era, more sumptuous, more civilized, more artistic as a whole, but without any immediate or abrupt change, nor pronounced line of demarcation, separating the third epoch from the second. Nothing but a perfectly unbroken continuity shows itself through the system or group of Necropoleis the description of which has been undertaken in this small work. Nothing, we believe, points to the

conclusion that there was a period of the Punic civic life, unrepresented here, at least by the remains of those people who took part in it and by whose corporate presence it alone existed and took life. We may look then, we believe, upon this great company of witnesses, these hundreds and thousands who joined the great majority so long ago, as so many pages of an intricate palimpsest, holding the truth before our eyes, ready for us to read the unbroken story, if only we can disentangle it from the bewildering superscriptions and the ruthless damage which the ages have accomplished, the irreparable effacement wrought so uncompromisingly, not only by the relentless Roman rivals, but by that unceasing spirit of destruction embodied in Arab flesh and blood.

Happily, against this system of perpetual destruction has been arrayed at last a methodic process of arrestation, late in time, alas, but unspeakably valuable, and, in spite of all deterrents, full of hope. During the last twenty years, since Cardinal Lavigerie first put his hand to the plough, there has been no looking back ; Elijah's mantle fell on the shoulders of Elisha, and the work continues and lives with a definite purpose and definite results.

So much has been done already that it is scarcely possible to place a limit to that which may yet be accomplished, nor the light which may come to shine upon the Punic origins of Carthage.

CHAPTER XIII

A SUBTERRANEAN group of tombs which exist beneath a hill known as Gamart or Kamart at the north-north-east, terminating the Carthaginian peninsula, having occupied at various times a good deal of attention from many noted archæologists of different nations, it may be well here to sum up briefly that which is now known and the conclusions which have resulted from the excavation of this site and the observations made by the White Fathers.

A part of the hill which bears the name of *Djebel-Khaoui*, or Hollow Mountain, on account of the subterranean sepulchres it contains, and which have passed for a long time, in the eyes of many archæologists, for the Punic Necropolis of Carthage, appears, however, to offer the very strongest reason for assigning a different interpretation to its presence, use and origin.

The funeral chambers are met with chiefly near the summit of the hill, hollowed out from the soft limestone beneath a harder layer above, which serves for their roof.

Half-a-century ago they were noticed by Falbe, the author of *Recherches sur l'emplacement de*

Carthage, and later mentioned by Dr. Barth, then excavated by Dr. Davis, MM. Beulé, de Sainte Marie and d'Hérisson, with the following results—

Falbe scarcely recognized the existence of a necropolis. He speaks simply of having found at Gamart "vestiges of tombs in a red-clay quarry" and of having penetrated "through a hole into a small sepulchral chamber whose walls were pierced with niches for depositing the dead."

Dr. Davis was the first to excavate this spot, and has related the result of his work in his book entitled *Carthage and her Remains.*

After speaking of the difficulty and disappointment in digging into this hill, he tells how at last they came upon a chamber apparently without niches, but which after careful examination appeared to have been blocked up with cement which distinctly retained the imprint of the workman's hands. "On one of the niches," he says, "we noticed the picture of a candlestick with seven branches, and on another the letters A P. The eight others had nothing at all. We pierced the thin covering of cement and found the skeleton just as it had been placed there. It was the colour of coffee and fell to dust at the least touch.

"In the vicinity of this room we found others which were empty, and by chance we found one or two receptacles still occupied. On examination we found traces proving that they had been occupied *once*, and that the fragile cement had been broken on purpose and the skeleton removed. The fragments of cement still adhering to the

opening led us to this conclusion. But the question is, whether we must attribute this spoliation to man endowed with reason, or to the irrational hyena.

"Those who originally bored through these hills in order to deposit their dead here, had no doubt protected these places from the encroachments of animals. And when those who were interested could no longer guard nor protect them, the catacombs became the refuge and abode of wild beasts. But at this time the greater part of the human remains deposited here had ceased to be the bait of those beasts known to ravage cemeteries. The spoliation of the Necropolis of Gamart must then be attributed to man.

"The vast extent of these catacombs indicates that they must have been connected with the population of a large city, such as the city of Punic Carthage, which counted seven hundred thousand inhabitants at the time of her destruction."

He goes on to notice that the practice of cremation in use in Pagan Rome precluded the possibility of this being a Roman cemetery. With regard to the representation of the Seven-branched Golden Candlestick, he says that it undoubtedly represented the Golden Candlestick belonging to the Temple at Jerusalem, but finds the explanation in the Vandal occupation of Africa Proper.

"We know," he says, "that Geneseric during the eighteen days of the sacking of Rome took away, among other objects of value, the Golden Table and the Seven-branched Candlestick which had been originally made after the instructions of God

Himself. At the triumph of Titus these sacred ornaments were paraded with ostentation before the eyes of the Roman people and then deposited in the Temple of Peace.

"After four centuries the product of the pillage of Jerusalem was transported from Rome to Carthage. That the people who professed respect for the Holy Scriptures should show veneration for such a relic as the Golden Candlestick it is quite natural to suppose. We have found it on several terra-cotta lamps, and here we have it in the catacombs. Surely they would not have adopted such a symbol by chance.

"The complete absence of lamps and other accompaniments of Pagan sepulture tends to confirm that the remains here found belong to the Christian era.

"In one niche only, and at a distance from those we have mentioned, we found a small jar and a glass lachrymatory, besides a number of rusty nails." He sums up by saying that the results of these investigations did not proportionately recompense the expense, and that they must content themselves with knowing that catacombs exist there, and that they embrace a circumference of about four miles, that they were of Punic origin, and that Carthage on becoming Christian used them afterwards for herself.

"That which likewise gives these catacombs an oriental and Punic character, is that there are found on diverse points of *Djebel-Khaoui* round holes hollowed in the rock. They must have served to collect water to refresh the soul, which,

[*See p.* 167.

ETRUSCAN POTTERY (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

[*See p.* 167.

PROTO-CORINTHIAN VASE, SIXTH CENTURY

it was believed, hovered above the spot of the burial of its body. This superstition still exists to-day, as may be seen in Jewish cemeteries in the East."

The testimony of M. Beulé shows that the whole mountain is undermined by thousands of sepulchres and millions of tombs, but that the earth has covered over the stairs, the doors and the ventilating shafts, and that it was only on examining attentively the surface of the ground that he discovered here and there under the tufts of fennel and acanthus an opening by which it was possible to slip in. He penetrated into a rectangular chamber, the walls of which were riddled with holes of sufficient depth to contain a corpse.

Dust, rain and other infiltrations had affected three-quarters of the depth of this chamber, being filled with earth, so that it became necessary not only to walk in a stooping position but more often to crawl.

He was the first to mention a curious point regarding the position of this Necropolis, which was that it lay on the side of the hill the furthest removed from Carthage, facing the ancient Utica and the high seas, a fact which reminded him of the custom of the Jews, whose law forbade them to bury their dead within the city walls. He also noted that the disposition of these tombs, which appeared to follow an immutable rule, accorded with the mode of burial of the Old Testament in such instances as the tombs of Abraham, Isaac, Ishmael and Jacob. He therefore concludes that the custom of the Semites of Palestine was an

absolute law among the Semites of Carthage. The caves were originally closed by the aid of a stone like the tombs of Lazarus and our Lord, and the niches in the walls hollowed out to receive the corpse have been decribed as "Coffin ovens" whose prototypes have been found in the valley of Hinnom. He likewise notices the very fine hard stucco, extremely white and highly polished, with which the caves are plastered, and which reminded him very naturally of the whited sepulchres to which our Lord compared the Pharisees. He tells how he searched in vain for paintings or inscriptions, finding none.

MM. Sainte Marie and Hérisson next atacked this site, but with less fortunate results than the foregoing writers, and it then fell into the hands of the White Fathers in the following manner.

An orphanage founded by Cardinal Lavigerie exists at Carthage for the care and training of negro children, many of whom have in due course qualified for medicine, and have rendered valuable missionary services in Equatorial Africa. Some of these little negroes were walking over the mountain of Gamart one day when they noticed some Arabs on the point of destroying a subterranean construction in order to extract the limestone. After having destroyed those caves which were easy of access, they had reached some which were more hidden under the gronnd. One of these last retained, above four of its niches, some inscriptions traced in the stucco with which the cave was plastered. The little negroes who had often helped in these searches had acquired a taste for

antiquities and had frequently picked up fragments of inscriptions on the site of the ancient Christian cemeteries; therefore, when they came across the well-known formula *In Pace*, they immediately recognized it and hastened to communicate their find to the Father Director, who the next day commenced a fuller investigation.

The structure was half destroyed when he arrived, but above the *loculi* which remained he was able to read the following inscriptions:—*LICENIA—LUCI IN PACE—IVSTFINPACE?*

Above the fourth coffin niche was another but undecipherable inscription. The adjoining chamber contained, strewed on the floor, the bones of animals brought here by the jackals and hyenas who for centuries had converted these tombs or catacombs into a retreat. They were likewise so filled up with earth and so dark as to render it not only necessary to be furnished with torches, but also to crawl full length along the ground.

RVGVE IN PACE accompanied by a seven-branched candlestick, and further on, *GAIVS—ARNESVS IN PACE — ASTEINEPACE*, were among some of the inscriptions found, and such names as Colomba, Fortunatia, Sidonius, Alexander, likewise revealed themselves. The scarcity of inscriptions found is no doubt due to the falling away of the plastering on which they were engraved. Many there were too which were quite illegible, but on a fragment of marble picked up it was interesting to read in Hebrew characters the single word *Chalom*, signifying peace.

The complete absence of ornamentation in so

many of the chambers accords well with Jewish practice, and their interpretation of the Second Commandment. To this rule, however, there is a notable exception in the remaining portions of a painted ceiling which retains traces of red-and-green colouring, and a cornice decorated with festoons and a vase; and another instance was a ceiling of stucco in relief painted and enclosed in two frames of rectangular moulding. One encloses a horseman, the other an upright figure near a tree.

The remains of a frieze were next met with giving details of a vintage scene. On one side may be distinguished men carrying amphoras of Roman form and arranging them upright in order, and on the other side the upright form of a woman near a circular vat. Two people are coming towards her, one on foot and one on horseback.

A very singular feature of this Necropolis is the presence of square and circular holes found on the surface of the rock above the tombs which, though they are hollowed down to various depths, never reach the ceiling of the caves below.

Diverse hypotheses have been offered by various observers as concerning their use.

Dr. Davis, as has already been noted, believed them to be destined to gather the rain as it fell, wherewith to refresh the souls of the dead, a usage which he attributed to the customs of the Eastern Jews. M. Beulé sees in these holes receptacles for water to quench the thirst of birds such as is seen on certain modern tombs in the East. Others, again, have thought that they must have served to

fix some exterior monument such as a pyramid or obelisk, but this was not the custom among the Jews, even on the tombs of their kings.

Another opinion was that they were used to fix tent-poles to shelter the relatives and friends who on certain days were in the habit of praying on the tombs, a custom which continues to exist among the Jews of Tunis.

It will therefore appear that the balance of probability is in favour of the supposition as to the Jewish character of these catacombs which for so long were taken to be the one true Punic Necropolis of Carthage. The formula *In Pace* was primitively common to Jew and Christian alike.

Fuller investigations have considerably modified the supposed dimensions of this cemetery. The *four miles* of Dr. Davis' approximation and the *thousands of sepulchral chambers* and *millions of tombs* of M. Beulé's computation have proved to possess no demonstrable basis on the closer scrutiny of those working continually on the spot.

The two principal historic emigrations of Israelites before the Christian era were those which took place, the one following the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and the other at the time of the building of the city of Alexandria by Alexander the Great. On each of these occasions it is known that the Jews settled in Egypt, and it is probable that a certain number settled in the principal ports of the Mediterranean coast. Thousands of Jews settled at Rome in the time of Augustus, and their cemetery, like that of

Gamart, is composed of subterranean chambers, retaining the emblem of the Seven-branched Candlestick and remains of Hebrew epitaphs.

The Mediterranean, the great commercial highway which led the Tyrians to Utica and then to Carthage, may well have conveyed detachments of Jews to the opulent city, either on those occasions of emigration already alluded to, or else at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in the year 70. Otherwise it would be difficult to find an explanation for the presence of so many thousands of Jews in North Africa to-day. The city of Tunis, which succeeded Carthage as the capital of the country of Tunis, the Africa of the ancients, contains no less than thirty-five thousand, and there are more than a hundred thousand in the Regency. Jerusalem was no doubt in relation with Carthage at the time of the Pentecost, for among the multitudes addressed by the Apostles were some inhabitants of Libya. Now, by the name of Libya was understood the land situated to the west of Egypt, thus including, at least in the common acceptation of the term, Carthage.

It appears that the Jewish Necropolis of Rome described by P. Garucci contains, like that of Gamart, decorations in which figure men, women, animals and genii, objects generally believed to be banned by Mosaic custom. Here, then, falls the only real objection which could possibly be urged against the conclusion arrived at by Père Delattre as to the Jewish and solely Jewish character of this construction.

Dr. Davis and M. Beulé, accurate in their

observations, were no doubt misled in their deductions, but it must be remembered on their behalf that the true Punic cemeteries had not then been found, and every explorer would naturally be ultra-disposed to see clues and traces of that which he was most earnestly anxious to find.

PART III

THE NECROPOLIS OF BORD-EL-DJEDID

CHAPTER XIV

In the Tunisian Pavilion of the Paris Exhibition of 1889 there appeared on view a beautiful large square of mosaic from Carthage, representing, with their names, the four seasons, and the twelve months of the year represented by figures. This was discovered very near the house of a certain Sidi-Mahomed-ben-Mustapha-Khasnadar. Eight years later, again in this same vicinity, a second and very important discovery was made, being nothing less than the richest Punic cemetery of Carthage, in the region of a hill situated between the battery called Bord-el-Djedid and the Chapelle de Sainte Monique belonging to the Carmelite Sisters. The side of the hill forming a cliff next the sea in the north-north-easterly direction was originally one of the terminating points of the ancient city wall of Carthage, which was originally composed of the three regions known as the Byrsa or Acropolis, Magalia or the outer belt enclosed within a second wall, and Cothon, or

the region near the coast, comprising the quay and the commercial position generally, of the Punic city.

Towards the end of November 1897 M. Célérié, Guardian of the Battery, in having a trench dug for sand, came across traces of Punic sepulture, and on investigating still further, more evidence came to light of the presence of an ancient Carthaginian cemetery. Happily Sidi-Mahomed, the son of the late above-mentioned Khasnadar, had already invited the Fathers to investigate his land with a view to excavating. He now on their behalf signed an act of location in the name of his wife, the Princess Khasnadar, engaging for a certain fixed sum to permit excavations throughout the extent of his property. This act, together with another which it was necessary to obtain from the military authorities, and some financial encouragement from the Académie des Inscriptions, rendered it possible to attack the situation in question with a clear and unimpeded spirit. The contracts were signed on the 4th of the following January, and the next day the work was commenced.

The cemetery is formed of hundreds of grave pits hollowed in the hillside, as close together as possible, and resembling a great beehive whose cells are sunk deep into the rock. In one instance, to arrive at a lower tomb it was necessary to descend twenty-two mètres, and in another twenty-five mètres had to be passed before coming to the deepest grave.

In most cases these funeral chambers contain

two pits or graves divided by a sort of embankment, on which usually is found the crumbling remains of a skeleton, and the shreds of rotten wood and oxidized copper nails which indicate the former presence of a coffin. There are few, if any, objects of common use which have undergone less change in form than these copper nails. Except for the vivid and beautiful green of their oxidation they might well have been purchased yesterday from the ironmonger. Some have heads of hemispheric form washed with gold, but I have seen some of the flat-headed type known, I believe, commercially as *clout* nails. Some very large-sized nails seem to suggest the sinister use of crucifixion suffered by criminals and animals alike, not to mention the defeated generals who, returning from battle unvictorious, knew that the shame and pain of the cross unfailingly awaited them.

The process of burial in the side graves presents some rather peculiar features. The skeleton is in a very great number of cases found lying upon and supported by a layer of vases, urns and jars, which, lying in a horizontal position, completely cover the whole extent of the grave, and which, in their turn, overlie a second skeleton lying right at the bottom. Sometimes one grave and one embankment composed the interior plan of the cell, and the variations from the above-mentioned type are as numerous as one would suppose to be the case in a cemetery which gives evidence of having served its purpose for three hundred years, *i. e.* from the fifth to the second century B.C.

[*See p.* 171.
TERRA-COTTA BUST (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

[*See p.* 171.
TERRA-COTTA BUST (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

As to the contents, the chief differences at first noted by the excavators to exist between the present and former earlier types, existed severally in the cases of the bicorn lamp, which was here found to have developed a disc-like base, to be much smaller in size, together with its patera, and to have edges which curved over and closed up the centre to a greater extent, and to be at times decorated with painting. In addition to these characteristics they are here found side by side with Greek lamps, a coincidence which never once occurred in the more primitive tombs. The curious amphoræ with stems instead of the usual conic base are again characteristic of the tombs of the last Punic period, and the drinking vases, which were entirely absent from the cemetery of Douïmes, and only represented in that of St. Louis by the curious *bazzuoli* placed in the funeral urns of infants, are here found to occur in frequent numbers. Another unique possession of this necropolis is the curious collection of ivory and bone objects resembling the bridges of string instruments. The Egyptian influence by no means entirely disappears, though hieroglyphic inscriptions cease to appear and the curious gold and silver earrings forming the Egyptian tau are no longer found, while, on the other hand, Punic inscriptions on stone reveal themselves in increasing number and length, and the simultaneous practice of cremation and inhumation is at last found to have unequivocally established itself. In the course of digging down to reach the tombs below, the interesting and somewhat important discovery was made of a

Punic inscription, the longest hitherto found, engraved in very fine characters on a plaque of whitish stone, composed of nine lines and enclosed in a cartouche formed by a raised rim or beading which framed the front side of the stone. It proved to be a votive offering to Ashtoreth and Tanith of Lebanon—unfortunately it is incomplete.

MM. de Vogüé, Philippe Berger and Clermont-Ganneau have all studied it, and the conclusion arrived at by the latter seems to show that it belongs to the epoch when Carthage was independent, and is a dedication to Ashtoreth and Tanith of Lebanon, of two new sanctuaries and their entire contents, and gives an enumeration, unfortunately incomplete, of objects, manufactured and sculptured, of sacred vessels, possibly those of the altars placed before the sanctuaries and used in the ceremonial ritual, and it finishes with a date indicated by the name of the month of Higar and the names of the magistrates. Their list is long and apparently arranged in hierarchic order.

First come the *Suffetes*, supreme magistrates of the city; then persons simply designated by the title *Rab*, members no doubt of the Senate; then the high priests, sons themselves and grandsons of high priests; lastly, a magistrate whose function remains to be determined.

The inscription commences with these words, "To the Goddess Ashtoreth and to the Goddess Tanith of Lebanon, two new sanctuaries." This is a sufficiently interesting commencement, and reveals an unexpected fact, since up till that moment it was usual to confound Ashtoreth with Tanith. M

Philippe Berger advances the suggestion that these two divinities might correspond with Demeter and Persephone, that is to say, Ceres and Proserpina.

The inscription goes on to enumerate the contents of these sanctuaries and all things pertaining to them—columns and sculptures, works in gold, stairs, steps, barriers or enclosing walls, etc.

Mons. Clermont-Ganneau fills in the gaps of the text and makes the first part to read thus—

"And in like manner they" (the people of Carthage) "have surrounded with an enclosure the Chomerat (or the Chomerots) in order to (protect) the hill of . . ."

From the fifth line he goes on to decipher thus—

"And the expense has been entirely borne by the people of Carthage from the greatest to the least. Made in the month of Haijar, the Suffetes being Abd-el-Melkart and . . ." Here the name of the second Suffete is missing. The Carthaginian year was indicated by the name of the supreme magistrates or Suffetes in charge, just as later on the Roman year was designated by the names of the two consuls.

At the sixth line M. Clermont-Ganneau reads—

"The Suffetes being Chophet and Hanno"—

and here the learned epigraphist finds cause for rejoicing, for he takes it that there are here two dates given which he looks upon as forming the first step in Punic chronology, since for the first time it is possible to establish, at an unknown distance it is true, two suffetic years in relative order. The rest of the inscription names civil and

religious functionaries in charge during the construction of the two sanctuaries.

First comes the *Rab* Abd-el-Melkart, son of Magon, who possibly may be identified with the chief of the famous Council of the Hundred, who administered the affairs of Carthage. The other persons named on the stone are Azrubaâl, son of Chophet the High Priest, which would seem to indicate that the function was hereditary; then, lastly, a person of the name of Akboram, son of Hannibaâl, whom M. Clermont-Ganneau takes to be a master builder and M. Philippe Berger a questor.

The last-mentioned *savant* was of opinion that the stone had been found in the neighbourhood of the Temple of Ceres, and subsequent discoveries would seem to have added strength to his surmise.

CHAPTER XV

In the course of excavating this spot there next came to light the stumps of fluted columns of Numidian marble and other architectural fragments, likewise of marble and of a beautiful style, such as bases and capitals, cornices and pilasters, and numerous fragments of inscriptions sufficient to indicate the presence of a sanctuary at some former time, and in addition a statue of Ceres in a fine state of preservation, laden with fruit (grapes, figs and bananas), and bearing a wheat-sheaf, the habitual attribute of this divinity, who was surnamed the "Goddess of the Harvest."

A beautiful classic head of the Goddess was likewise found here, veiled, and crowned with wheat-ears; then came some curious fragments, apparently stumps of a large marble serpent or dragon, on which strode a tiny elf—portions only of the little body and limbs remaining, and another stump belonging to the region of the reptile's head, and bearing wings.

On finding these, Père Delattre says he no longer retained a single doubt on the subject, for he took it that these fragments belonged to certain winged serpents or dragons driven by small genii, which

drew the car of Ceres, since it is thus, according to the fable, that the Goddess is represented going to search for her daughter, Proserpina, whom Pluto had borne off to dwell with him in Hades.

It was often the custom in Roman times to confide the sacerdotal ministry of Ceres to matrons of the upper classes, whose office lasted for one year, and M. Delattre mentions that in an epitaph from Carthage which was acquired by the British Museum from Dr. Davis, the word Cereales is given as a cognomen or possibly a title to a woman of Carthage.

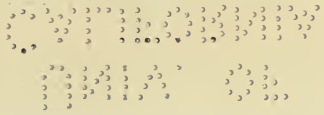
The *ludi cereales* consisted chiefly of processions in which nuts and dried peas were thrown to the crowd, and curiously enough an egg was solemnly borne, possibly as a symbol of the earth which Ceres had been obliged to overrun in searching for her daughter Proserpina, in which case it would seem that the ancients were acquainted with the real form of our planet.

It was at the commencement of the fourth century before our era that the Carthaginians, frightened by their reverses in Sicily, and attributing them to the vengeance of the Goddesses Demeter and Persephone because the army had violated and ravaged their temple at Syracuse, resolved to introduce them into their pantheon. They raised statues to them, and, in order to render the Godesses favourable to them, they essayed to honour them with the pomps and rites of Greek sacrifices. In addition they gave the care of their cult to Greek priests.

The panic which was a prelude to the establish-

[*See p.* 171.

TERRA-COTTA STATUETTE (*Bord-el-Djedid*)



ment of the cult of Ceres and Proserpina at Carthage, and the influence which the Greek priests exercised on the manners of the Carthaginians, seems to both explain and admit of the dating of the unexpected appearance of the custom of burning the dead and enclosing their calcined and broken bones in little stone chests. This usage shows itself then at the commencement of the fourth century, for the Necropolis at Douïmes, which dates approximately from the end of the seventh to the first years of the fifth century, furnished scarcely an example of cremation in upwards of a thousand sepulchres visited by Père Delattre, while these pits and funeral chambers hollowed in the massive rock—where, it is believed, was raised the *fanum* of Ceres—contain almost exclusively urns with calcined bones, as many as eight or ten urns in one chamber. Between four and five hundred have been met with in the course of investigating this site.

The custom of cremation seems to have been introduced suddenly into Carthage at the epoch when the Greek Priests, charged with the cult of Ceres and Proserpina, exercised their influence on the manners and religion of the Carthaginians.

It will be remembered that the presence of calcined remains, especially those of children, was noted as having been met with in the cemetery, known to-day by the name of "Nécropole de St. Louis."

We have to bear in mind the possibility of another cause than that of natural death, affecting the presence there of these infantine ashes. We have to recall the dread rites practised by the people of

the old city, the ghastly sacrifices demanded by Baâl, that Prince of Darkness, who to them was the Lucifer, the bearer and emblem of Light. The urns and little coffins of stone found there, containing calcined and broken bones, may well have been the remains of those human victims which the Carthaginians were in the habit of offering to the god Moloch, on certain days when the hideous statue used to receive into its arms and let fall into a burning brazier from two to three hundred children of the noblest families of Carthage, the mothers being forced to look on at these odious sacrifices without shedding a tear.

Almost all the tombs found at Bord-el-Djedid appear to have contained uncremated corpses in the first instance, of whose coffins rarely anything remains but the shreds of rotten wood. Later on, when the practice of cremation established itself, these same tombs were utilized to deposit the small coffrets of stone, and the cinerary urns containing the calcined remains of the dead. At least this much is gathered from the presence simultaneously in the tombs of the burnt and unburnt skeletons, and the amphoræ or broken portions of amphoræ, containing whitened ashes.

The usual accompaniments comprise numerous urns with stems, lamps of the Punic form in its later development already noted, Greek lamps, amphoræ with conic base, cylindrical amphoræ, some of an elongated cone shape, jars, drinking vessels, perfume burners, small double-handled cooking pots, single-handled jars, long-necked jars, cups and dishes, etc. Again, there are terra-cotta

vases decorated with black varnish, which possibly served as cups and bowls, one example being in the form of a chalice.

The frequent presence too of funeral stelæ, either intact or broken, is characteristic of this Cemetery. They bear, sculptured in relief, the form, either seated or more usually upright, of a woman, the right hand raised, while the left hand holds, supported against the breast, a sacrificial vessel.

CHAPTER XVI

It will be well to deal with the beautiful marble sarcophagi next, both the simple painted examples and the rare and fascinating anthropoid specimens, so lately discovered for the first time in North Africa, which, excepting of course Egypt, though explored so widely at so many points, had until within the last two or three years yielded no single example of anthropoid sarcophagus. In 1898, it is true, the White Fathers discovered at Carthage two ossuaries, small stone coffers, containing broken, calcined bones, the residue of cremation, on the cover of which the image of the defunct was graven. One of these was accompanied by the name of Baâlshillek the Rab, while the other, by the pose, the costume and the insignia, indicated that the original had been a priest of one of the Carthaginian divinities. Here it may be mentioned that this Necropolis, or at any rate one particular portion of it, seems to have been very much taken up by the occupation of the corpses of the aristocracy of Carthage, namely, of priests, priestesses and rabs; the latter title, of purely Semitic or Assyrian origin, signifying prince, is met with in the Old Testament.

Here is the description of a fine monolithic

specimen found on November the 4th, 1902, being the festival of San Carlo Borromeo, when Père Delattre, having just celebrated Mass at the altar of the saint in the cathedral, was called to go immediately to the Necropolis. Here in a funeral pit, from under the *débris* of two cedar-wood coffins, was revealed a magnificent anthropoid sarcophagus. On the lid was carved, in high relief, the image of a Carthaginian priest, lying extended on his back, robed in a long tunic reaching to the feet, which are shod with sandals. The sleeves are short, the right hand is raised, while the left hand holds the sacrificial vessel. Between the finely sculptured toes is seen the red colour with which the surface of the sandal had been painted, while the thick sole is apparently held in place by a simple sandal-strap, indicated by a sharp black line across the instep. There falls from the left shoulder on to the tunic and recedes to the hips, a toga terminated by a fringe.

The head is extremely fine and the features well accentuated. The beard and moustache are full and treated well, the forehead slightly wrinkled, the eyebrows pronounced, the hair fairly short, and the ears small. The *ensemble* achieves the effect of a very imposing portrait. The original could scarcely have been other than a man of character and personality to a marked degree. The eyes were painted, and the iris is still visible, giving to the face a peculiarly living expression. The right forearm is bare, and of fine modelling, and the same may be said of the open hand, of which

however the thumb appears too decidedly arched back. The left hand, holding the vessel, reveals a certain embarrassment which apparently the artist was not equal to overcoming. The whole of the forearm is suppressed, and the hand appears soldered to the elbow. This effect of foreshortening is the least happy part of this beautiful piece of sculpture.

The feet rest on a sort of solid stool. The marble from which the figure is carved has acquired a reddish tint similar to that of rust, and possibly due partly to the action of the colour of the coffins with which it was in contact, while the marble itself contains greenish veins. Under the right elbow of the priest the coffin-cover bears the imprint of a basket, or rather the bottom of a basket, and curiously this is only one of several instances in which a similar imprint has been found on the covers of sarcophagi. At each of the four corners of the lid, iron-handles were cramped into the stone, which probably is the explanation for the presence of the double sets of holes found on other stone coffin-lids. In this instance however the holes completely pierce the marble, while they have not been found to do so in the other cases met with.

When the cover was raised the coffin was found to contain an entire skeleton, the remains of a corpse which had lain extended on its back, the arms lying straight each side of the body. An even line extending round the coffin seemed to indicate the height attained by a liquid which it

[*See* p. 174.
TERRA-COTTA FIGURINE (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

[*See p.* 174.
TERRA-COTTA STATUETTE (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

originally contained, and which has since evaporated, while at the feet of the corpse in the right-hand corner a horizontal incrustation, about the size of a hand, showed that the liquid must have been an emulsion of resin. On the neck a tiny cylindrical box of ivory or wood had become oxidized to the breast-bone, and on removing it the fork of the sternum came away with it; but the box itself, after a very short exposure, crumbled away to atoms, leaving revealed twenty-five coins which all proved to be bronze. Thus it is on the chest or at the height of the chest that the coins are found. We know the ancients hung their purses from their necks and put them under their outer garments, and even to this day the Arabs, faithfully conservative of antique customs, have a pocket in their bosoms in which they put handkerchief, purse, and tobacco.

The horrible practices of rifling the tombs and thieving from the bodies of the dead was not less known to the ancients of Carthage than it is to the Arabs of to-day, and the entire absence of silver and gold coins in any of the tombs, or of ossuaries, leads one to wonder whether this deplorable custom was perhaps the cause.

However, it is possible to attribute other reasons for the exclusive presence of bronze coins which appear by hundreds and even thousands, sometimes well preserved and with the head of Persephone or Astarte clearly defined and the galloping Phœnician horse or the sacred palm on the reverse.

It has already been suggested that this habit

of placing only bronze coins, and sometimes even those no longer in currency at the time of the interment, in the graves, may indicate an absence of generosity and a strong spirit of self-interest on the part of the friends of the dead ; but another and very probable solution is that the golden rings found in some of these tombs were possibly coins in their primitive form, and used as such by the Carthaginians, even as the Egyptians, before they introduced stamped golden coins, made use of golden rings for the purpose of exchange.

Three of these golden rings were found in the stone coffin of the priest and their position deserves to be noticed. On the right side of the skull at the bottom of the coffin lay two of these rings and the third was found on the left side. The description is given earlier, of a terra-cotta mask representing the face of a man wearing bronze rings in his ears and a leaden or silver ring in his nose, analogous to the Nézem of the Hebrews. The discovery of this mask revealed the fact that nose-rings were not entirely relegated to the toilet of women, but were, in some instances at any rate, worn by men also. In view of this fact an interesting speculation arises as to whether our priest perhaps wore them too, and whether in the course of decomposition the nose-ring slipped down to the right and joined the earring.

The ring-finger of the left hand bore a beautiful signet ring, entirely of gold, engraved on the bezel of which was a profile head with hair and beard

crisply curled. So close is the resemblance of this head to that sculptured on the lid of the sarcophagus as to leave no doubt that we have here two accurate portraits of the defunct priest.

The sculptor has succeeded in revealing a man of character and dignified presence, and the eyes, whose irises still retain traces of colour, gaze straight forward with a reality and solemnity which is almost startling, and this impression is by no means diminished by the attitude of the right hand raised in benediction.

The period when the cemetery was in use is believed to correspond with that of the war of the Mercenaries, *i. e.* the middle of the third century B.C. The finances of the city were in such a bad state that Carthage was unable to discharge her liabilities towards the soldiers who came back from Sicily loudly demanding payment for their services.

It is therefore just possible that these tombs belonged to that critical period in the history of Carthage when the public treasury was completely exhausted by the tax of the war, to such an extent that the citizens could not accompany their dead with the smallest silver or gold coin.

On the other hand, it may have been the custom to give to the dead only the smallest pieces of money, and the practice of placing obsolete coins in coffins has been met with in a superposed Roman cemetery, where, in addition to very worn and disused Roman coins, was found also one belonging to the Carthaginian era. In any

case, up to this present moment no gold coin has been found in the Punic tombs, and in the oldest graves even bronze examples are entirely absent. Apparently their introduction was a late one. Two days after its discovery the Priest's sarcophagus was extracted from its tomb and transported to the Museum, where it was installed in the *Salle Punique*. The small quantity of dust which surrounded the skeleton, on being sifted, yielded nothing more save a tiny broken amulet, mounted in a delicate, stirrup-like clasp of twisted gold. The sarcophagus contained no further treasure.

The cave itself had from time to time received several coffins, two of which had been placed on the top of the sarcophagus. Three well-preserved skulls proved to belong to the dolichocephalus type. Apart from the sarcophagus, and mixed up with the *débris* of the wooden coffins and bones, were found a dozen urns with stems, eight bicorn lamps with their pateræ, three lamps of Greek form, ten *unguentaria*, three small single-handled vases, four black cups with handles, two small bowls, a white clay patera with horizontal angular handles, a bag-shaped amphora, and one with conic base; as also an alabaster *unguentarium*, a tiny alabaster Greek lamp, a bronze hatchet-shaped razor, some nails, several of which have gilded heads. There were coins, scissors, a strigila, a long glass cylinder bulging in the centre, glass amulets representing the sparrow-hawk, the alert little figure of Anubis, etc.; a glass bunch of

grapes of the size, colour and thickness of a fine, large, elongated blackberry; portions of ostrich eggshells painted with human features, a little gold spoon formed by an open hand at the end of a simple flat handle; then a golden signet-ring, the bezel of cornelian bearing a graven bull with a very elongated body, the tail in the air, the head abased in a fighting attitude; and other miscellaneous objects. Such were the contents of the chamber containing the Priest's sarcophagus. On the 11th of November, the octave of the festival of San Carlo Borromeo, another sarcophagus was discovered, of a fine and interesting description, but one which may be delayed for the present in order to deal with the later discoveries of further anthropoid sarcophagi. On the 25th of November, in the course of excavating, the workmen came upon traces of a sarcophagus and the partly revealed foot of a statue. The next day being the tenth anniversary of the death of Cardinal Lavigerie, the morning was partly taken up in celebrating the Mass and funeral service in memory of the prelate who had done so much for Carthage. However, as soon as ever it was possible, Père Delattre, accompanied by the Archbishop, Monseigneur Combes, started for the Necropolis full of the emotion of suspended expectation and wonder which must always accompany any investigation into the secrets of Mother Earth by all truth-seekers.

In the meantime almost the whole of the funeral chamber had been cleared, and, on enter-

ing, two superb anthropoid sarcophagi met the eye. On the left a priest, on the right a priestess. The priest is represented lying full length on his back, in the same position as no doubt the corpse below was arranged for burial. The right hand is raised, the vase of offering held in the left hand; the head is bound with a circlet or band, the face bearded, and the eyes, relieved with colour, give to the countenance a striking expression of life. The left ear bears a gilded ring. The figure is draped with a long tunic, on which falls from the left shoulder a toga, the insignia of his dignity. The feet are apparently enclosed in thick-soled shoes, retaining traces of red and black. The right foot is larger than the left. The tunic shows a reddish tinge, due, possibly, to the action of that all-pervading colour with which the neighbouring wooden coffins, like so many of the wooden coffins, were frequently painted, and which especially belonged to the people of Carthage—that Phœnician purple which was one of their chief articles of commerce.

But it was the priestess whose beauty was a revelation, and whose discovery was the crowning surprise of the year's work. The brilliancy of colour and strangeness of her attire, far from detracting from the dignity of her presence, seem, on the contrary, to enhance the noble simplicity and gentle restraint suggested by the effigy. A rare and lovely personality seems to have inspired the sculptor in this instance, and not the least remarkable trait indicated is the absolutely unique

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[*See p.* 146.
ANTHROPOID SARCOPHAGUS OF A CARTHAGINIAN PRIESTESS
(*Bord-el-Djedid*)

[*See p.* 146.
ANTHROPOID SARCOPHAGUS OF A CARTHAGINIAN PRIEST
(*Bord-el-Djedid*)

character of this type of beauty. She does not resemble a Greek, still less an Egyptian, and the Semitic mould is hardly recognizable here. The dove which she holds in her right hand might be taken as a symbol of her own gentle beauty and serious sweetness. She lies extended on her sarcophagus, which is painted all over with the most brilliant colours, and which are still further enhanced by the addition of gilding. She wears the costume of the great Egyptian Goddess Isis and Nephtys, the body being hidden by the two wings of the sacred vulture, which enfold the hips and cross in front, thus arching their extremities in such a fashion as to give to the lower part of the body almost the appearance of a fish's tail. The vulture's head appears surmounting the head-dress, and a short veil falls from below it on to the shoulders, leaving free the brow, surrounded by close curls, the full calm face, the throat, and ears bearing rings. The bosom is draped with a slight, veil-like fabric, symmetrically and beautifully folded, and attached by two brooches to a wide golden collar-band, while the same piece of fabric continues from the girdle to the feet, so exquisitely chiselled, which appear from beneath the robe and between the two great wings. The upper part of the bosom is decorated with three coloured bands, which pass under the falling ends of the veil and hair and appear again on the shoulders. One of these bands is purple-red between two outer bands of deep blue.

The small feathers of the great wings are

indicated in red, while the large feathers are represented by a sort of golden mesh on a deep blue ground.

It is to be regretted that photography can do no more than reproduce the form, with its values of light and shade, and to a certain extent the expression, while it falls short of the harmonious whole in the lack of the truly strange and impressive colouring.

Surely here is a pure type of Phœnician womanhood. That majestic calm which is the outward and visible sign of the highest courage within accords well with all we are told of the women of Carthage—of their bearing and enduring in that most terrible siege, which tried and proved them valiant unto death.

It is easy to understand how so many visitors, on leaving the hall of the Museum where she has been placed, after having gazed at this sweet priestess for a long time, cannot refrain from turning one last admiring glance towards her before they pass through the door.

In spite of the small quantity of light and space, a gentleman succeeded in photographing the sarcophagus of the Priest and Priestess as they lay side by side in the tomb. The next operation was that exciting one of opening the coffins, the potential contents of which could not fail to evoke in the onlookers visions of sacerdotal insignia and hopes of sumptuous Carthaginian vesture. Alas for the vanity of human wishes! Each coffin contained a hole hollowed in the stone

lid, near the head, large enough to pass the hand and arm well inside. Their presence augured ill for the realization of the visions indulged in, for they spoke with no uncertain voice, telling of profaning hands which had disturbed the dead in their last sleep, and of violation and horrid theft away back in the far gone centuries. On lifting the lid which covered the remains of the Priestess a femur was found near the skull—conclusive proof that hasty, restless hands disordered her bones in the search for objects of value.

The corpse proved originally to have been placed in resin, which still adhered in a ridge round the sides and in the corners of the coffin. If it is possible to judge by the jaw, which had lost nearly all its molars, the Priestess must have been a very aged woman. The comparison of this skull with the lovely countenance on the lid might well be appreciated as a sermon in stones—and bones. The thieves had left untouched twenty-one bronze coins; probably they found other things of more value than obsolete coppers. These little coins bore the classic head of Persephone, and on the reverse the galloping horse, and were arranged in groups on the breast.

Like the Priestess's coffin, that of the Priest was firmly and hermetically sealed by means of iron bars and melted lead. Up till this time no similar instance of sealing had been found among the fifteen stone coffins discovered. The usual experience was to find the lids fitted simply on

to the lower part without any attempt at adhesion. This skeleton was enclosed in a hard covering of resin, broken in the region of the head, near the hole which had been made in the lid. In evaporating it had shrunk so as to scarcely cover the skeleton. On the left side of the corpse the resin retained the trace of a staff or some such implement, as long as the coffin itself. Possibly this was an insignia or staff of office, such as is pictured being borne by a priest on a cornelian scarabæus contained in a signet-ring found in a tomb near by.

Chemical analysis revealed the fact that the resin was a product known as terebinthine, an extract from the tree *Pistacia terebinthus*, met with in the Mediterranean basin, in Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, North Africa, and the Canaries, and even as far as Afghanistan.

The curious imprint of a basket on the stone lid, already alluded to, is sufficiently peculiar to have evoked a search for an explanation, especially as it has been found to occur in more than one instance. And the conclusion arrived at by the Reverend Père Delattre is that a basket of fruit was originally actually placed on the lid, and that the action of the acids from the fruit effected this curious impression. A recent discovery would seem to reveal what were the kinds of fruits contained in these baskets. A gilded coffin was found, surrounded with figurines and other objects in terra cotta, representing figs, grapes, mandarines, an almond, a plum, some tomatoes, cucumbers, a

bulb of garlic, a honeycomb, and a cheese. These diverse aliments, which must have entered into the daily nutriment of the Carthaginians, likewise belong, almost all, to the ordinary Arab *menu* of to-day.

CHAPTER XVII

THE first day of the following February was destined to furnish another surprise in the shape of a fourth anthropoid marble sarcophagus, on which was sculptured in high relief the figure of a young woman; indeed it is best described as a statue, the first discovered in the Punic tombs. She is draped in a long plaited tunic, leaving exposed the fore part of the feet, and a long veil passes over and falls from her head. With her right hand she moves aside that part of her veil which otherwise had partly covered her face, while with the left hand and arm she clasps the remaining portion of the veil around her waist. This fashion of wearing the veil recalls the Maltese custom of draping the ghonella.

Unhappily the face has suffered some damage. The hair, separated in the centre, undulates in waves over the ears and falls on to the shoulders and over the breast in long tresses.

It is to be noted that this lady wears no bracelets nor rings, and apparently no girdle. She evidently is the work of a Greek artist, and bears much resemblance to an Attic funereal statue of the fourth century preserved in the Louvre.

[*See p.* 152.

SCULPTURED MARBLE SARCOPHAGUS OF A CARTHAGINIAN LADY (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

Nothing could be more marked than the difference of effect produced by this Carthaginian matron and the Priestess already described. While the former is no more nor less than an embodiment of youthful voluptuousness, strikingly portrayed by an unerring hand, from the Priestess, on the contrary, in some mysterious manner emanates a power which commands and keeps a reverent and enraptured recognition, a strange and almost overwhelming admiration, deeply penetrated with awe, a calm and adorable beauty which perpetually satisfies and refreshes the spirit as a well of cool water in the desert would refresh a thirsty traveller.

Although it seems certain that this part of the cemetery was set apart chiefly for the reception of the bodies of the Rabs, Priests and Priestesses—there seems no evidence to show that the last found sarcophagus, bearing on its lid a statue of a young woman, contained the remains of a Priestess of Carthage. Everything seems to suggest that the lady was simply the wife of a rich Carthaginian, possibly a Rab, and it is probable that statues of this kind were first sculptured for the living, and placed in a position of honour in the homes of the originals, where they remained until his or her death, when they served both as a covering for the sarcophagus and a monumental piece of statuary, preserving the likeness of the originals as they appeared in their prime.

The discovery of these four very typical and striking anthropoid coffins completes that series of discoveries embracing Phœnician sarcophagi of an

analogous character in Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Cyprus and Syria, the last being the cradle of this seafaring and colonizing race. However, the unmistakably Phœnician types of womanhood are sufficiently rare to make any example found of an inestimable value. We remember the vivid word-picture of Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, and we wonder whether she is nearest in likeness to our Carthaginian lady or our lovely Priestess, or the very curious and striking face of the lady of Elche, preserved to-day in the Louvre. No three types could surely differ more than these. The Priestess is utterly unlike either, while both in simplicity of costume, as well as expression, our Carthaginian lady differs as widely as difference can from the sumptuous ornate apparel of the Spanish bust, as well as from its complex, subtle smile. If Jezebel resembled any one of these three, it surely must have been the lady of Elche, apparelled more like the statue of a goddess (very like, in fact, to many statuettes of Tanith) than even great riches or high station and ordinary personal comfort would seem to have called for.

The coffin which bore the sculptured image of the Carthaginian lady contained very little beyond the remains of the skeleton of a young adult female. A broken unguentarium came to light, and several potsherds, some of them the remains of fine clay vases, some of them the *débris* of coarse earthen jars.

A thick layer of brownish earth had penetrated this coffin, and in the course of carefully removing it in layers, a yellowish layer appeared, smoothly

covering the bottom of the sarcophagus. This last was the residue of an emulsion of resin in which the corpse appeared to have been plunged. According to Herodotus the Babylonians steeped their dead in honey, but it is not possible to judge whether the latter substance lent the tinge of yellow to this preparation under discussion. The powdered remains of this gluey resin still clung to the bones, and melted in the heat of the hands when touched. On carefully sifting the remains of this resin, fragments of a gilded bronze ring and a Punic coin were found. The presence of a similar ring is more or less of a common occurrence in the sarcophagi of this Necropolis.

The funeral chamber in which this last example was found contained likewise several other skeletons in various stages of preservation and dissolution, like the cedar coffins which had once contained them, or still continued to do so. The cave itself yielded eleven amphoræ with stems, seven bicorn lamps, four Greek lamps, four unguentaria, two black drinking vessels, two small double-handled cups, and amulets representing Bes, the *oudjah*, Anubis, the cat, the cynocephalus, etc., twenty-seven bronze coins, four iron nails, three bone hinges, two fragments of a necklace or bracelet of gilded lead, a white pebble, some sulphur and some pitch.

The stone ossuary which contained the calcined remains of one Baâlsillek deserves notice, for though the cover can scarcely be described as anything much more than a graven stone, it seems to indicate a certain transition or process of evolution

from low to high reliefs, and is likewise interesting as belonging to the aristocratic region of the Rabs, of whom he was one.

This coffin is of a solid, massive and heavy description in proportion to its size. On its lid is designed the silhouette of an old man in low flat relief. There is indicated a beard and a head-dress of some kind of turban. He is draped in a long robe leaving bare only the feet, and he lies extended on his back, his head resting on two oblong cushions. His attitude is the usual sacerdotal one; the right hand raised to the height of the shoulder, while the left holds a sacred vessel to his breast. At the top end of the lid may be clearly read, in fine Punic characters, his name and his title, Baâlsillek the Rab. It is scarcely necessary to point out how nearly related it is to the Hebrew *Rabbi*, *Rabboni*. In the long inscription dedicating a Temple to Ashtoreth and Tanith, already described, the Rabs are named after the Suffetes, and before the High Priests. The characters of the inscription are found to have retained nothing archaic, nor yet, on the other hand, do they in any way presage the Neo-Punic influence.

Another small crematory coffer of soft stone shows on the lid the figure of an old priest in high relief, a realistic and somewhat clumsy representation.

These ossuaries are usually found placed above the inhumed corpses, and again coffins are frequently found placed on the top of the ossuaries; still a large proportion of the tombs contain no

[*See p.* 171.
TERRA-COTTA (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

[*See p.* 171.
TERRA-COTTA FIGURINE
(*Bord-el-Djedid*)

traces of cremation at all. This curious irregularity of method presents a problem for which there may be several solutions, but it may be gathered with certainty that at no time was cremation a general practice in Punic Carthage, nor even practised exclusively in the same family. The presence of cremation in certain tombs and its absence in others would seem to point to the conclusion that it took place only in special circumstances—circumstances possibly to be associated with the human sacrifices which the Carthaginians offered to the god Baâl Moloch. The victims, children of the best families of the city, and at times adults, were thrown into the flames at the foot of the hideous statue.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the relatives of the victims would endeavour to possess their remains and place them in the family grave, and these innumerable ossuaries found in this and the earlier cemetery of St. Louis may well enclose the calcined remains of those unfortunate victims, reclaimed by their parents or relatives, and disposed beside the other deceased members of their families who had died naturally and received burial according to the old Phœnician custom of inhuming the embalmed corpse, or the simpler earlier usage of placing the corpse without resin into the cedar-wood coffin, trusting to the preservative qualities of the wood, whose sap was the true λιβανος of the Wise Men, to arrest, at any rate for a time, the inevitable decomposition. The large white marble and stone sarcophagi are distinctly more rarely met with than either the cedar-wood coffins,

whether whole or in a decayed condition, or the little stone coffers containing the calcined bones. These, with the funereal urns, make four distinct types of burial in the later necropolis of St. Monica's Hill, otherwise called Bord-el-Djedid.

Here the funereal accompaniments are of a most heterogeneous description; the potteries may be said to assume almost every known shape, the amulets are exhaustive in the ideas and deities they symbolize, the masks evince an extraordinarily original and fantastic variety; the statuettes and figurines show a certain affinity to Sidonian and Egyptian archetypes, but are never actually identical. The coins, however, invariably retain either the Phœnician horse, or the palm-tree and the classic head of Astarte or Persephone.

CHAPTER XVIII

A VERY curious fact is shown in the abundant presence of the handles of Rhodian amphoræ, and *the handles only*. The potter's mark is there clearly enough, and the symbol of the Rose, but never the rest of the vessel either whole or broken. There are one or two problems advanced by these necropoleis which by no means admit of a prompt solution and dismissal. We do not nearly possess the whole facts concerning the presence, for instance, of the numerous potteries in the tombs. It is certain the Carthaginians had other than domestic uses for the various fabrications evolved from the potter's wheel. The wall of amphoræ filled with earth and bearing inscribed in red and black ink the date of the consular year in which the wine was made, is a unique example of how far removed are our ordinary domestic ways from their ways, our every-day economical thoughts from their thoughts. The razors too are there with the meaning of their presence to be solved. It is generally admitted that they constitute the most characteristic and, at the same time, the most charming of results of the Carthage excavations. It seems certain that

these bronze blades, which in some cases retain traces of gilding, and which have received the most delicate and artistic engraving, are the prototypes of certain razors used to-day in Equatorial Africa. Quite recently Monseigneur Lechaptois, returning from a mission in the Upper Congo, and seeing these razors at Carthage, expressed the opinion that they showed an unmistakable affinity to those used by the natives of Tanganyika to-day. Though virtually and apparently all alike in form, but differing in the subjects of their engravings, there are, however, certain subtle differences not easily demonstrated, though readily perceived when they are placed side by side, and they have that peculiar and indescribable attribute of being possessed of, in a curious manner, a *personality*. Possibly this attribute may be noticed and felt as regards any of man's handiwork, of any description, more especially as distinguished from machine-made objects, but whether, in the case of these hallowed implements of the consecrated barbers, a larger portion of the maker's spirit poured into the object of his creation, certain it is that they possess a fascination and attraction for minds attuned to appreciate them. In every instance the incised decorations bear an unmistakably Egyptian character, and the handle is invariably shaped in the form of a swan's head and neck. To the unskilled eye these flaky blades, notwithstanding their delicacy of form, appear to be little more than a mass of verdigris. And such they would in many instances have remained, with nothing but

[*See p.* 174.

TERRA-COTTA DANCING GIRL (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

[*See p.* 174.

TERRA-COTTA DANCING GIRL (*Bord-el-Djedid*

their external shape and the vivid green of oxidized copper or bronze, beautiful in itself as a colour, but wholly disastrous to the existence of the metal—to be admired.

But happily for the science of archæology, a patient and minute antiquary, the Marquis d'Anselme de Puisaye, has brought to light the true meaning of the scarcely discernible lines.

A very perfect specimen bears on one side a man's upright form turned to the right, the left leg advanced, dressed in a kind of skirt decorated with patterns in the form of crosses. The neck is adorned with a collar. In the left hand he bears a palm towards which he is holding up his right hand in a gesture of adoration.

Beneath his feet a line of oval shapes completes the scheme of decoration.

The reverse bears the form of another person wearing the double Egyptian crown, and a collar also adorns his neck. He too lifts his hand in adoration, but in this instance the palm is an entire tree, and is placed at some distance from him. The following is the description of another specimen given by Père Delattre himself:—

"Here is a new specimen. It is a razor found more than ten years since in the Punic Necropolis at Byrsa.

"On one face it bears a sort of palm or water-lily with lotus flowers, surmounted by two hawks bearing Egyptian crowns, and facing each other. At the foot of the sacred tree are two birds resembling herons, cranes or ibises.

"The reverse bears a representation of peculiar interest which is further augmented by a Punic inscription comprising a dozen letters."

On presenting the photograph of this precious piece of archæology to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres at the meeting of September 22, 1899, M. Heron de Villefosse gave the following description of it, which he accompanied with the following learned commentary :—

"Beneath the inscription is depicted a bull, lying with his two front legs folded under his body. A bird attacking a serpent is perched on the back of the animal, who seems otherwise pre-occupied.

"The origin of this curious representation is to be sought for in the East and no doubt as far as Chaldæa. Some bone combs decorated with an analogous scene were found at Carthage and in the south of Spain. Thus do we find attested the commercial predominance of the Phœnicians throughout the basin of the Mediterranean.

"It is certainly very interesting *à propos* of the bird perched on the bull's back to recall the celebrated bas-relief of *TAVRVS TRIGARANVS*, which decorates one of the altars discovered in Paris in 1711, under the choir of Nôtre Dame, and preserved to-day in the Musée de Cluny. One sees there, cranes perched on the back of a bull, but instead of the animal lying down, it is upright and adorned for sacrifice. On the blade at Carthage a bee or large fly is engraved at the left of the inscription—one of its wings being overlapped by the tail of the bird.

"This bronze blade was found at Byrsa on July 31, 1889. Preserved in the Musée de St. Louis at Carthage, it there hid its secret for ten years under a thick oxidized coating. It was the skilful and delicate hand of the Marquis d'Anselme de Puisaye which knew how to reveal it to us."

As to the inscription, M. Philippe Berger notices that the writing is archaic and analogous to some ancient Phœnician inscriptions of Egypt of the epoch of Psammetichus.

"The learned epigraphist there deciphered the name Arbarbaâl son of Azar, preceded by a word, the meaning of which he could not determine. We are asked whether it is possible to attribute to these little monuments a votive character or simply recognize in them an instrument of special use. Many of my *confrères* who have sojourned in the interior of Africa, particularly the equatorial regions of the Upper Congo and Tanganyika, have assured me that the negroes of this district use razors having the form of our little hatchets. This assertion has led me to see in these objects genuine razors, and this opinion has been admitted by the *savants*. Possibly these instruments formed part of the paraphernalia of Phœnician worship, since these have been discovered in the ruins of Carthage, Votive Offerings of the Sacred Barbers, and in an inscription from Cyprus we see *tonsores* forming part of the *personnel* of the Temple of Astarte.

"We have here perhaps an explanation both of our razors in the form of a hatchet and of the

frequent presence of those scissors (*forcipes*) in the tombs of the Necropolis which we are exploring."

The razors are perhaps the most interesting, as they are indeed among the rarest of the finds.

A certain tribute of Carthaginian spoils finds its way to the Museum at Bardo, the Official Palace of the Bey of Tunis, and here one notes, as in the Musée St. Louis, that there is no plethora of these little bright green hatchet razors.

One very oxidized specimen remained for a long time covered with its bright green coating, no one having suspected that the vivid powdery covering had any incisions. However, the Marquis de Puisaye succeeded in rescuing the engraving from obliteration, with the result that one side reveals an upright figure turned to the right, dressed in a plaited Egyptian tunic. Below on the segment of the arc which forms the edge of the razor a bull is depicted with the unmistakable touch lent by the hand of a Greek artist. The other side of the blade shows the upright figure of a woman also in profile, but turned towards the left, and lifting her hands in the attitude of adoration, while in the lower portion near the edge a wild boar has been engraved likewise in Greek style.

Another specimen shows on the blade beneath the invariable swan's head, a crescent moon embracing a disc, a bird and a large full-blown lotus with two budding stems at each side. The reverse shows two fishes facing each other, and some unintelligible flourishing lines. A curious example is one in which on each side of the blade an upright

[*See p.* 171.

TERRA-COTTA FIGURE (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

figure with a vulture's head is shown. The right hand is raised in adoration, and in each case the head is crowned by a circle enclosing the *uræus*, with the difference that in one instance it is single and in the other doubled-headed. Another is decorated with a lion springing towards a plant or tree, and a creature with a large fish's or dragon's tail, and the upper part of the body in the form of a horse. One especially finely-worked example has the figure of a man seated on a rock having for a garment the skin of a wild beast, probably a lion, the head of which serves as a head-dress. In his left hand he holds a bow. At his feet a dog is seated on his hind-legs awaiting his master's orders. Near the man's head appears the solar disc and crescent moon. On the reverse a seated figure leans against the back of his chair, and holds in his left hand a flowering, undulating stem. The face and figure is in profile, looking towards the right. The right hand hangs down towards a bird which stands behind the chair. That part of his vesture which covers the lower part of the body is decorated with circles formed by dots, and a scheme of dotting at the top of the head indicates a crisply-curled head of hair. Again, another razor shows an upright figure with the usual raised right hand, and a full and somewhat flowing garment. The reverse simply shows a symmetrical palm-tree.

The foregoing examples embrace a representative collection; others there are which differ only in detail, but follow the main lines of thought in the scheme of decoration by representing the up-

right figures in attitudes of adoration, the crescent and disc, the palm in one form or another, and the lotus flowers either budding or in bloom. It remains to be seen how much light they will come in the course of time to throw on the origins of the Holy Prophet's work—"the sacred profession of Barbery."

CHAPTER XIX

Of the Pottery and Potters' marks, the subject is so wide that only a brief summing up can be indulged in here of a matter which to be treated exhaustively must be dealt with in a work apart from the description of other objects.

Of potters' marks, the Chaplain of St. Louis writes:—"We collect and publish with care these little monuments which at first sight appear insignificant, but in archæology there is nothing insignificant, the smallest potsherd, as soon as one can by dint of a long series of observations recognize its origin and assign to it a date, becomes a scientific element enlightening a discovery in a manner often remarkable and giving to it its whole value. The Musée Lavigerie de St. Louis possesses hundreds of potters' marks of all epochs. When these inscriptions shall have become embodied in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* of Berlin, which publishes all Greek and Roman Ceramic texts collected throughout the world, some interesting conclusions will be opened out, not only as touching the history of pottery and epigraphy, but also, and above all, that of the great commercial currents of which Carthage constituted the point of departure."

Of the Ceramics it will for the present suffice to repeat the description of one interesting specimen of which the Rev. Père Delattre gives in his account of the work done during April, May and June, 1898, in this Necropolis at Bord-el-Djedid.

"The most remarkable finds were two terra-cotta pieces, a small vase and a figurine, both of them decorated with painting.

"The vase is a lecythos of very fine earth; the body, of oval form, is surmounted by a narrow neck. A slender handle takes up the back of the vase, which is decorated with a palm-leaf met by two half-leaves which surpass it in height.

"But it is the painting on the front of this vase which is especially interesting.

"One sees here, a woman seated on a stool receiving from a slave the finishing touches to her toilet. The *coiffure* is completed, the arms are already adorned with bracelets, the right ear has its earring, and the maid is helping her mistress to pass the second pendant into the left ear.

"The slave herself, placed on the left and seen in profile, also wears bracelets and earrings. On the right in the background appears a band of stuff finished at each end by a fringe, and some lines.

"The artist, perhaps, wished to represent a girdle. This scene has an astonishing realism. The drawing is perfect; the pose and movements have a quite remarkable naturalness; the expression is living. The matron, her gaze fixed on the slave, seems to betray an apprehension of pain, and to say to the one helping her, 'Oh don't hurt me!'

"One could not wish for a picture more full of

[*See p.* 173.

TERRA-COTTA STATUETTE (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

life. At first sight the two figures appear to be painted in a light tone on a black ground of metallic reflectiveness. Nothing of the kind. The artist, after having determined by drawing the position of his models, has painted the outline in black. He has done the same with the palm leaves, filling with the same colour the whole remaining ground.

"The black colour has again served him to fix with excessively fine touches and lines the features of the faces and the details of the garments. This system of painting *in reserve* upon the light tone of the clay displays great art in the painter who has decorated this vase. To complete the effect he has employed white. With this he has entirely painted the stool on which the matron is sitting. The same colour has served to indicate slight caps on the heads of the two women, likewise the earrings, bracelets, borders, fringes and lines which finished the two ends of the band of stuff mentioned further back.

"Finally, behind the slave in the background appear six or seven little touches arranged in a vertical line and diminishing in size until the lowest and last is scarcely perceptible. The scene depicted on our lecythos is truly a work of art. Several *savants* have thought that the greater part of the painting thus executed on antique vases, particularly on Greek ceramics, reproduced the pictures of celebrated painters. The painting on our vase, dating back to more than 2,000 years, has perhaps preserved to us the copy of a picture of one of those great masters."

The pateræ or saucers placed under the bicorn Punic lamps likewise bear paintings which are sometimes very striking. On one of these is painted the profile of a refined queen-like head crowned, and with the hair parted each side of the brows. This profile curiously bears a certain marked resemblance to Queen Victoria, sufficient to cause it, in suitable environments, to be mistaken for a portrait of her late Majesty. Another disc which was not a patera, but apparently the cover of a cylindrical capsule, has on it painted the figure of a woman of uncanny, sibylline aspect, seated, her feet crossed, the index finger of her left hand pointing towards her lips, her right hand extended loosely in front of her. Both the above-mentioned patera and this medallion are of Etruscan design, though widely differing in the type and treatment of the subject. The seated figure somewhat recalls that of an Eleusinian priestess, while the Phrygian cap and fingers pointing to the lip, suggest a resemblance to the bust of Paris at the base of the Portland Vase.

CHAPTER XX

THE statuettes of this funereal region though not remarkably plentiful are various and interesting. Telesphorus, a pagan divinity not frequently met with, is found here. The God of Convalescence, he is represented as a young man of short stature, wearing a heavy, monk-like cloak, which falls around him in thick folds and reaching to his feet, having entirely covered his thick-set form and leaving revealed only the large solid face, gives a particularly clumsy appearance to his entire presence. The Arab *burnous* when completely fastened in front, is somewhat similar in appearance to the garment indicated. The learned Benedictine Bernard of Montfaucon, on seeing this statuette, believed this mantle to symbolize an allegorical mystery easily divined, namely, that those who are recovering from an illness must be extremely careful of their health, and keep themselves well covered. This Telephorus, God of Convalescence, was sometimes associated with the God of Medicine, Æsculapius, whose rich and celebrated temple is mentioned both by Strabo and Appian, and who was regarded by the Carthaginians as their titular deity. A statue was found of this god, in detachments. Père Delattre states how he first

exhumed a Telesphorus, then the portion of an arm and head of Æsculapius, fragments which went towards nearly completing a statue of the God of Medicine found several years before and preserved in the Garden Museum of St. Louis. To-day nothing is missing but the right forearm. A statuette of the Goddess Tanith, often met with at Carthage, but never found in exact counterpart anywhere else, is one in which the traditional mantle envelopes the figure and surrounds the back and head in a conventional shell-like shape. The head is adorned with a high and elaborate head-dress analogous to those of certain figurines of Cyprus. Two masses of hair cover the temples, while the neck and chest are covered with neck-laces of the ornate character shown in the instance of the wonderful lady of Elche, preserved in the Louvre, and not unlike a certain kind of adornment worn by the women of indigenous tribes of Algeria and Tunis. At her feet were found two amulets, one representing the *uræus* enclosing the *oudjah* or eye of Osiris and the other the sacred sparrow-hawk surmounted by a kind of crown. One of the few terra-cotta figurines obtained from the tombs in a perfect condition is that of a young woman, upright, draped in a tunic and mantle. The head is slightly bent forward. The right hand hanging by her side, lightly grasps the edge of her mantle, while the left hand rests on her hip in an attitude of ease so remarkably striking as to recall the terra cottas of Tanagra.

A unique little terra-cotta figurine represents a little winged cupid extended full length, face down-

[*See p.* 171.

TERRA-COTTA HEAD (*Bord-el-Djedid*)

wards, in a kind of square barque or cradle. This well-modelled little child's figure reposes carelessly and easily on a clear brilliant blue drapery which emerges and lies in folds around the body, covering a part of the legs. The wings are half opened and completely free from contact with the sides of the vessel. The head, raised and turned to the right, leans with ease on the folded left arm, whilst the right arm stretched forward reaches over the edge of the barque where it hangs softly. The colour is even more striking than the modelling, being of the most vivid, brilliant description. The body is rather pale red, while the hair is of a darker red, almost brown; the wings are white. On the back a fine golden net extends down the spinal colume dividing as it passes over the thighs and legs. As it lies in its glass case in the Museum, among the antiquities of the Phœnician age—it is difficult to realize that it is the product of a Punic tomb, so absolutely Greek is it in design and effect.

It has been described as comparable to the best terra cottas of Cyrenaica. It is thought to belong to the third century B.C.

A figure of reddish clay represents a girl playing on a dulcimer dressed in a tunic and with a veil held in place on the head by a stephanos decorated with flowers forming a crown. She holds her instrument with ease, by the left hand, leaning it slightly on her shoulder. The right hand, whose fingers, save the middle and ring finger, are parted, appears ready to play on the disc so lightly held. Another figure likewise of

red clay and painted, represents a woman holding in her left hand a lyre decorated with birds' heads, while at the same time she appears to be offering with her right hand some sort of sacrifice in a kind of patera which she is about to deposit on an altar placed near her feet. The two chief goddesses of Carthage are likewise represented in terra cotta, the mother goddess, Tanith, holding in her arms her daughter Astarte or Astaroth. The mother goddess holds her daughter in her left arm and supports her with her right in such a pose as seems to present her for worship to the beholders, a pose adopted so frequently in later centuries to represent the Virgin and infant Christ. Curiously the daughter, though of diminished proportions, represents an adult in the arms of her mother, and is dressed and adorned in a similar manner, with a long tunic and earrings and a double row of necklaces, forming a deep pectoral. Both are surrounded by the shell-like folds of the sacred mantle, though that of the daughter is proportionately small, and the latter wears a high headdress which reaches above the folds of her mantle.

Near the bones of an infant, together with a drinking vessel known as *bazzuola* and ten *unguentaria*, a terra-cotta figurine was found representing a man on horseback. He guides his horse towards the right and is dressed in a short tunic fastened by a girdle, and a tall conic cap or casquette.

Several examples are found of an upright female figure whose arms are vigorously extended horizontally with the fists closed—somewhat the

attitude of one indulging in gymnastic exercises, but those who have witnessed the Spanish Basques dancing the Fandango, will probably not fail to be struck with the pose illustrated, and which, with the foot slightly extended in front, is identical with that adopted by the dancer when commencing to dance. A beautiful little statue of a girl playing a double flute represents an archaic style. Her mantle flows round her with the shell-like curve seen in the statues of the goddesses Tanith and Astaroth (a mode of draping resuscitated by Raphael in the case of the Sistine Madonna), while her robe falls in fine flowing pleats around her feet.

Such, briefly, is the sum of the work accomplished on the site of the richest city of ancient times; the archæological harvest which has been gathered from the three chief Necropoleis, whose reapers are the devoted White Fathers of Carthage. The good grain is not only stored in the Convent Museum of St. Louis but scattered abroad in the form of literature published from time to time, the writing of the learned Chaplain whose valuable brochures are sold for the benefit of the Excavation Funds. Fortunately for the progress of his work and the benefit of the archæological world generally, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres has generously furnished grants from time to time to facilitate the undertaking.

In view of the valuable work already accomplished not only in Carthage but also in Sardinia, Malta, Sicily, Cyprus and Palestine, there seems to be every reason to hope that the time is not very

far distant when it will be possible for some master-hand to gather together the gradually increasing material, and by means of comparative methods and research compile some such valuable and illuminating literary and historical construction concerning the whole Phœnician race in all its aspects, as shall come near in usefulness and exhaustiveness to the works lately given to us from the pens of our greatest living authorities on the vast and majestic subject of Egyptology.

Happily Carthage, the living centre and pivot of that Phœnician race, the pioneer of international commerce and mistress of the seas, whose ruined site and trampled remains have lain for so many centuries unknown and neglected, has at last received her visitation of peace, and in peace has yielded up her share, and continues to yield, of those secrets of the past which alone can throw light on her origins and on the life and habits of her people. Coevally with the Isles which in the dim past she conquered and colonized, she now begins to tell her story in a voice which, enfeebled by great misfortune and long disuse, strengthens perceptibly in due proportion to the tests laid upon it.

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